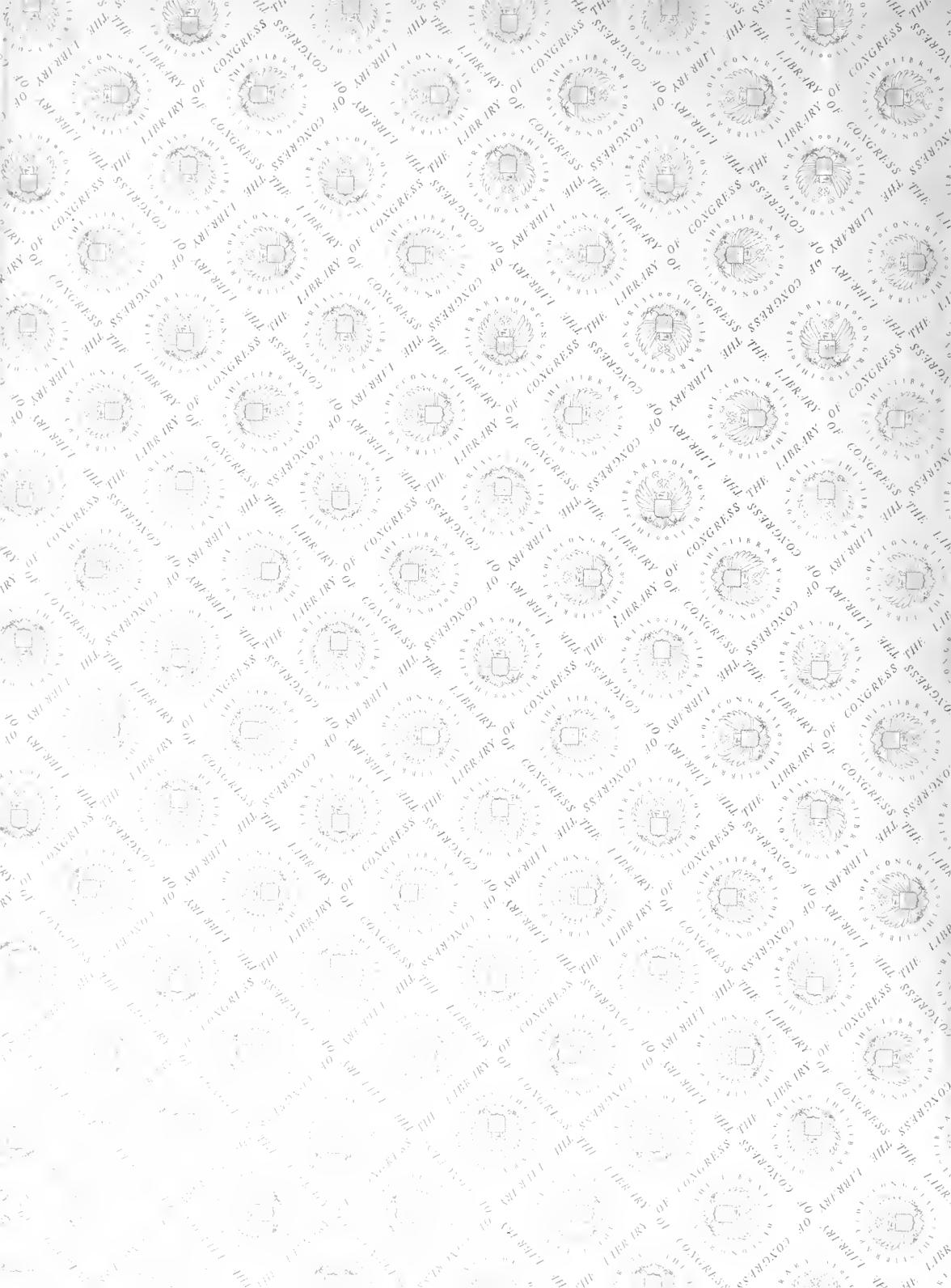


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NATIONAL AID IN THE ESTABLISH- MENT AND TEMPORARY SUPPORT OF COMMON SCHOOLS.

THE EDUCATION BILL,

BY HENRY W. BLAIR.

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FORTY-FOUR TABLES COMPILED FROM CENSUS OF 1880 AND RETURNS OF NATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION, AND FROM OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES, SHOWING THE ILLITERACY OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE NECESSITY OF NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

These tables cannot be duplicated, and are the best historical authority for all time. They are of inestimable and permanent value, for no Educational Statistics of the Census of 1880, except to a limited extent in the Compendium, were or now can be published.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Education bill was introduced in the Senate of the United States December 6, 1881. As originally prepared by me it provided for the distribution of \$105,000,000 in ten years by annual installments. As passed by the Senate, April 7, 1884, by a vote of 33 yeas to 11 nays, \$77,000,000 were to be distributed in eight years, and as passed by the Senate, March 5, 1886, by a vote of 36 yeas to 11 nays, the same amount in the same time, with a school-house fund of \$2,000,000.

The bill and like measures have been very ably supported in the House of Representatives by Hon. A. S. Willis, General Wheeler, and many of their party friends, and the Republican members generally; but, although there was a large majority of the House in favor of the bill in both the Forty-eighth and the Forty-ninth Congresses, its opponents have so far been able to defeat the consideration of this important measure upon its merits.

Public interest in the bill is increasing, and the necessity of its enactment is not diminishing.

Judge Bynum, a leading jurist of North Carolina, last year candidate of the Republican party for chief justice of the State, in a letter to me dated June 20, 1887, urging continued effort to pass the school bill, says: "The South is poorer now than fifteen years ago, or since—I mean the masses;" and this is, I fear, too near the truth outside the centers of transportation and mining and manufacturing industry, and even in them it is not clear that the *masses* are much improving their condition. Education alone gives the individual power which, combined with industry, enables its possessor to secure a larger share of the wealth produced by the community.

Mrs. Annie C. Peyton, a lady of high character and great distinction, in reply to my inquiries writes me from Hazellhurst, Miss., in date of June 15, 1887:

"The failure of the Forty-ninth Congress to pass the 'Blair education bill' was a national calamity. To ascertain the continued need of the relief proposed in the bill I have addressed letters of inquiry to county superintendents of education in various portions of the State, and all agree that some measure of national aid is a ~~re~~cessity."

The Woman's National Christian Temperance Union, the great teachers' associations, the Knights of Labor, the Federation of Labor, for this is the most important "labor bill" now before the country, religious denominations, and educational organizations such as the trustees of the Peabody Fund, the Johns Hopkins University, the Union League, superintendents of public instruction, and many States in formal action through their legislatures and innumerable petitioners from all parts of the country, to which should be added the national platform of the Republican party, are urgent, and will continue to be, for the passage of this bill. It is the unmistakable voice of the people demanding their own good—the creator requiring of its creature, the law-making power, the enactment of this measure into law.

The measure will be vigorously pressed in both houses upon the assembling of the Fiftieth Congress, and it will continue to distract the Congress until the great evil which demands its beneficent provisions is removed. It will be found impossible to evade the issue presented by this bill much longer, nor will misrepresentations of the measure itself or of the condition of popular education, or, rather, of the want of it in many parts of the country, suffice much longer to mislead the public mind and thwart the public will.

The debates in the Senate, occupying about three weeks on each occasion, have been very elaborate, able, and exhaustive, sometimes heated, but on the whole the most thorough and complete and the most elevated in tone that have transpired upon any public question for many years.

I have prepared this little volume chiefly from the material whose details, partly because the further gratuitous supply of the immense demand hitherto and now existing upon my time and purse for information on this absorbing theme has become impossible, and partly that the invaluable statistics contained in the reports of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor and in my speeches are and always will be otherwise inaccessible to the general public.

There have been no educational or religious statistics of the tenth census published by Congress, except to a limited extent in the compendium, and a reliable compilation is, as I am informed by the Bureau, now impossible. These tables were prepared, many of them at my request and under my supervision, with special reference to the elucidation of this subject, by the Hon. John Eaton, so long Commissioner of Education. But the larger portion are his own work, and are based upon such returns of the census of 1880 as were then available and the data collected by the extensive and reliable machinery of the Bureau of Education. These tables must become more and more important as time goes on. They will be the only standard of comparison with future educational statistics, and their special adaptation to what seemed to me to be the most intelligible and impressive presentation of the appalling ignorance of many portions of the country will, I hope, assist others in like investigations which must continue so long as the American people care to be free.

These tables represent an indescribable amount of my personal work and weariness, and I may overestimate their importance; but however that may be, whoever gets them may be sure that he has the best obtainable, and that the educational condition of no people was ever so well delineated statistically as is that of our own in the following pages.

Strange as it may appear, this little work contains more than four hundred pages of an ordinary octavo book. It is published in quarto form, because in no other way can the tables be used with convenience. I earnestly commend its contents to every citizen of the Republic, for these things concern our peace.

HENRY W. BLAIR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 24, 1887.

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PRESIDENTS WASHINGTON, GRANT, AND GARFIELD.

✓ *George Washington—First annual message to Congress.*

“Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge in every country is the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours it is proportionably essential.”

Farewell address.

“Promote, then, as a matter of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.”

President Grant—Message on ratification of 15th amendment, March 30, 1870.

“I would therefore call upon Congress to take all the means within their constitutional powers to *promote* and encourage popular education throughout the country, and upon the people everywhere to see to it that all who possess and exercise political rights *shall have the opportunity* to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in the Government a blessing and not a danger.

“By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured.”

President Garfield's inaugural address.

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“But the danger which arises from ignorance in the voter can not be denied. It covers a field far wider than that of negro suffrage and the present condition of the race. It is a danger that lurks and hides in the sources and fountains of power in every State. We have no standard by which to measure the disaster that may be brought upon us by ignorance and vice in the citizens when joined to corruption and fraud in the suffrage.”

“The voters of the Union who make and unmake constitutions, and upon whose will hang the destinies of our governments, can transmit their supreme authority to no successors save the coming generation of voters, who are the sole heirs of sovereign power. If that generation comes to its inheritance blinded by ignorance and corrupted by vice, the fall of the Republic will be certain and remediless.”

“The census has already sounded the alarm in the appalling figures which mark how dangerously high the tide of illiteracy has risen among our voters and their children.”

“To the South this question is of supreme importance. But the responsibility for the existence of slavery did not rest upon the South alone. The nation itself is responsible for the extension of the suffrage, and is under special obligations to aid in removing the illiteracy which it has added to the voting population. For the North and South alike there is but one remedy. All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States and all the volunteer forces of the people should be surrendered to meet this danger by the savory influence of universal education.”

THE VIEWS OF 28 SENATORS OF THE UNITED STATES AS EXPRESSED IN DEBATE ON THE EDUCATION BILL.

Senator Edmunds, Vermont.

“We come, then, to the question as to what we ought to do. We do find, and all agree as a fact, that in a great many of the States of this Union there is an undue and excessive proportion of people who are ignorant and of children who are ignorant, and that in those States it appears to be a fact that at this present time there are not sufficient resources available to provide from the taxable property of the inhabitants of those States for this emergency. It is therefore, as it seems to me, a case in which the common treasure of all the people may be fairly devoted in aid of this great and necessary object for the preservation of real republican government.”

Senator Evarts, New York.

“Now, then, in a word, Mr. President, I confront this immense, this dangerous, this growing, this threatening mass of ignorance. I find a deliberate, a concerted, a thoughtful, a valuable measure. I am heartily in favor of the passage of this bill.”

Senator Sherman, Ohio.

“I think the safety of the National Government demands that we should remove this dark cloud of ignorance that rests upon a portion of the people of the States.

“Without repreaches to any section I am willing as one of the Senators of Ohio, * * * to vote from the national treasury a large sum of money this year and from time to time, so long as the necessity exists, a liberal sum of money to aid in the education of the illiterate children of the Southern and Northern States.”

Senator Lamar (now Secretary of the Interior), Mississippi.

“I have watched it with deep interest and intense solicitude. In my opinion it is the first step and the most important step this Government has ever taken in the direction of the solution of what is called the race problem; and I believe it will tell more powerfully and decisively upon the future destinies of the colored race than any measure or ordinance that has yet been adopted in reference to

it—more decisively than either the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth amendments, unless it is to be considered, as I do consider it, the logical sequence and the practical continuance of those amendments. I think that this measure is fraught with almost unspeakable benefits to the entire population of the South, white and black. It will excite a new interest among our people; it will stimulate both State and local communities to more energetic exertions and greater sacrifices, because it will encourage them in their hopes in grappling and struggling with a task before whose vast proportions they have stood appalled in the consciousness of the inadequacy of their own resources to meet it.”

Senator Garland, Arkansas (now Attorney-General).

“This bill might very aptly be styled a bill to extirpate illiteracy in the United States. For one I did not require any amendment to the old Constitution to enable me to find the power of Congress to do this. * * * In conclusion, I implore both sides, and all sides, to come together and vote for this bill, and be a unit upon it, as we have been talking about it and promising it for years and years past.”

Senator Voorhees, Indiana.

“No discussion in this body since the war has been of greater importance, in my judgment, or will be more fruitful or far reaching in beneficial results than the one now drawing to a close. The measure itself now before the Senate has never been surpassed in the elevation and benevolence of its spirit nor in the magnitude and value of its immediate and ultimate purposes.”

Senator Hoar, Massachusetts.

“I profess to be the friend of this bill. I undertake to say that the legislature of this nation has a right to save the life of this nation against whatever danger. I think it is a better thing to try the experiment whether by educating a black man he can be made fit for American citizenship than without trying that experiment to cheat him out of his vote.”

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

Senator Pugh, Alabama.

"I do not believe that any measure approaching this in importance has been before the Senate or is likely to be before the Senate this session with as much popular approval of its passage. My service on the Committee on Education and Labor for five months during the last summer and fall enabled me to learn something of the public necessity. Every witness examined by the committee upon the condition and needs of the public schools in the Southern States urged Federal aid to these States to enable them to extend the benefits of a common-school education to their illiterate children."

Senator Vance, North Carolina.

"I feel that it is my duty to vote for this bill, and I shall do so."

Senator Brown, Georgia.

"As without education the voter, without giving him the knowledge which General Washington speaks of as indispensable, * * he cannot be a citizen, at least a useful citizen. He cannot be a voter—a safe, intelligent voter. * * I am, therefore, very clearly of the opinion that there is no constitutional difficulty in the way of the passage of this bill."

Senator Jonas, Louisiana.

"I accept this bill in behalf of the people whom I in part represent as a great benefaction, as a great assistance to a people overburdened by a charge laid upon them which they are unable to meet, but which they have every disposition to carry out to the best of their ability."

Senator Cullom, Illinois.

"There is no enemy of the Republic who does not make the public school system of this country the point of his attack, either open or insidious, as the case may be; and there is no friend of the Republic who should not do all that may be in his power to defend and strengthen it."

Senator George, Mississippi.

"Mr. President, I feel very deeply and very profoundly the gravity and importance of the measure now before the Senate. I know of no measure likely to engage the attention of Congress which has so much of benefit to the people whom I, in part, represent on this floor and also to the people of the United States."

Senator Williams, Kentucky.

"Mr. President, this is a proposition so manifestly humane and just that it is difficult for me to see how any one can withhold his support from it."

Senator Gibson, Louisiana.

"In my opinion reflecting men in all parts of the country * * * have formed the deliberate judgment that the education of the people, the enlightenment of the suffrage, the elevation of the popular character and the popular conscience, the awakening of a loftier and healthier sentiment of national patriotism, is absolutely indispensable to the preservation of constitutional liberty."

Senator Ransom, North Carolina.

"I will presume to say that I do not think it possible that any member of the Senate can be more anxious for the passage of this bill than I am."

Senator Hampton, South Carolina.

"Actuated by these motives I feel bound as a citizen, as a Senator, as a patriot, to support the bill under consideration."

Senator Logan, Illinois.

"I have been in favor of education ever since I have been old enough to make the matter a study. I have always been in favor of common schools and schools of a high grade, and I am to-day."

Senator Call, Florida.

"Mr. President, the measure is far above all ideas having their origin in partisan bitterness and sectional prejudice. I undertake to say, Mr. President, that you cannot appropriate too much money in this country to education."

Senator Jones, Florida.

"I think there is ample authority in the Constitution for the passage of this bill."

Senator Teller, Colorado.

"Long ago, on this floor and elsewhere, I have committed myself unequivocally, unhesitatingly, unrestrictedly to the power of the General Government to contribute out of its great abundance to the support of public schools anywhere within its jurisdiction."

Senator Jackson, Tennessee.

"Mr. President, this measure may fail, but I esteem it a great personal privilege, as well as a high patriotic duty, to give it my humble but cordial support."

Senator Mahone, Virginia.

"Mr. President, I could not be more earnestly in favor of the measure which this bill proposes to inaugurate than I have been and am."

Senator Riddleberger, Virginia.

"I am not ashamed to say here, on behalf of as good a people as inhabit the State of Texas or of Kansas, that we do want it; we ask for it; and we think that it is due to us to have it."

Senator Dolph, Oregon.

"A large amount of illiteracy in any Government is a menace to it. The remedy for such an evil is to educate."

Senator Miller, New York.

"I am willing to vote enough of the public money to make such a beginning in this matter that the Southern States shall be so lifted out of their darkness and illiteracy that when this \$77,000,000 shall have been distributed such a public spirit will have been created in the South that from that time on they will be able to go on with their common-school system perfected, and carry it to complete perfection, as we have done at the North."

Senator Harrison, Indiana.

"Holding these views, Mr. President, I am sincerely solicitous that Federal aid should be extended to the States in such a way that the kindly impulses of that increasing body of Southern men who show a kindly disposition toward the elevation of the colored man shall be recognized and encouraged."

Senator Blair, New Hampshire.

"I also embrace this fitting opportunity to say that I fully believe that the States will everywhere disburse the monies received under this bill if it becomes a law in good faith and with as sacred regard to the demands of prudence and honor in one section of the country as in the other. For a year or two there may be some possible confusion in setting up and testing machinery, but in the existing condition of the public mind the better way is to give outright to the States and hold them as they desire to be held, to an undivided responsibility, to be redeemed upon their honor. We shall not trust to that honor in vain. Mr. President, the absolute necessities of this nation and of these States, of their darkened present and of their portentous future, demand the appropriation of public money from a full treasury to aid in the establishment and support of common schools throughout the country. Sir, I appeal to the facts and entreat the Senate to pass this bill."

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

S P E E C H O F H O N . H E N R Y W . B L A I R , O F N E W H A M P S H I R E ,

I N T H E S E N A T E O F T H E U N I T E D S T A T E S ,

Tuesday, February 9, 1886,

On the bill (S. 194) to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Mr. BLAIRE. Mr. President, this bill as originally introduced at this session and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor was the same in form as the bill passed by the Senate in the Forty-eighth Congress with the exception of the thirteenth section proposed to be stricken out by the amendment of the committee. It is a section providing a school-house fund of \$2,000,000. That section was moved during the discussion in the last Congress in the form of an amendment to the bill by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LOGAN], but by a close vote it was lost in the Senate. As the bill was introduced at this session that amend-

ment was incorporated as the thirteenth section; but in the consultations of the committee it was deemed better to report back the bill as it had received the sanction of the Senate by a three-fourths vote in the last Congress without alteration, and therefore the committee report back recommending that the thirteenth section be stricken out, and submit it in that form to the judgment of the Senate.

In this immediate connection I wish to introduce a table which has been prepared showing the population of the whole country, of each State and Territory, except the District of Columbia, and how the whole amount proposed to be appropriated by this bill, \$77,000,000, during the next eight years is to be distributed during that period. This table shows the whole amount distributed in that time to each State and Territory that receives anything under the provisions of the bill, and the amount received by the whole country in each State and Territory during each year of the entire period covered by the bill: \$7,000,000 to the whole country the first year, \$10,000,000 in the second year, \$15,000,000 in the third year, \$13,000,000, in the fourth year, \$11,000,000 in the fifth year, \$9,000,000 in the sixth year, \$7,000,000 in the seventh year, and \$5,000,000 in the eighth, and the amount proposed to be distributed to each State and Territory during each of these years successively under the provisions of the bill. I wish the table to appear as a part of my remarks.

Preliminary computation of amounts to be received by the States and Territories, excluding the District of Columbia, of \$77,000,000 distributed on the basis of the number of persons who could not write in 1880, as per Senate bill 194.

[Prepared by the Bureau of Education, January, 1886, at the request of Hon. H. W. BLAIRE.]

States and Territories.	Total population in census of 1880.	Persons who could not write in 1880.	Quota of each State and Territory for the—									
			Whole time.		First year.		Second year.		Third year.		Fourth year.	
			Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	
United States.....	50,155,783	6,214,180	77,000,000	7,000,600	10,000,000	15,000,000	13,000,000	11,000,000	9,000,000	7,000,000	5,000,000	
Alabama.....	1,262,505	433,477	5,730,845	488,255	95	697,512	78	1,046,269	14	906,766	59	
Arizona Territory.....	40,440	5,842	57,288	30	6,580	50	9,408	10	14,101	61	12,220	41
Arkansas.....	802,523	202,015	2,503,170	97	227,561	87	325,087	14	422,613	29	292,575	43
California.....	864,694	53,430	662,035	95	60,186	54	85,950	77	128,971	25	111,775	59
Colorado.....	620,270	28,021	10,474	129,753	50	11,798	50	16,820	42	18,820	45	
Connecticut.....	626,177	28,022	3,272,938	38	400,000	53	68,610	82	54,402	72	18,166	49
Dakota Territory.....	135,177	4,821	59,737	64	5,430	64	7,736	06	11,637	09	10,085	48
Delaware.....	146,608	19,414	240,539	17	21,869	02	31,241	45	46,862	08	40,613	89
Florida.....	269,493	80,183	993,548	79	90,322	62	129,053	61	193,546	48	167,742	09
Georgia.....	514,180	520,416	4,648,486	66	566,235	70	837,463	28	1,256,197	92	921,211	79
Idaho Territory.....	32,610	1,778	22,023	23	2,002	84	3,201	20	4,292	24	3,719	64
Illinois.....	3,771,750	1,881,616	46	1,781,750	74	217,727	39	304,000	51	304,000	51	
Indiana.....	1,970,301	110,731	1,372,410	26	127,737	39	237,229	12	367,388	68	231,710	86
Iowa.....	1,624,615	46,609	57,522	84	52,502	99	73,004	27	112,506	29	97,503	54
Kansas.....	996,066	39,474	489,147	72	44,467	97	63,525	68	98,285	51	69,578	53
Kentucky.....	1,645,690	348,392	4,316,930	63	322,418	24	560,643	34	810,900	42	728,832	36
Louisiana.....	935,940	318,330	3,945,051	88	358,641	04	512,345	24	768,516	52	606,047	79
Maine.....	648,936	22,170	274,705	81	24,973	53	35,676	47	53,514	79	46,371	99
Massachusetts.....	931,150	1,202,707	1,561,511	51	1,621,707	51	3,641	73	2,800	49	2,290,178	51
Michigan.....	1,783,085	92,988	1,152,116	61	107,727	50	149,625	54	181,510	20	164,588	09
Minnesota.....	1,636,937	778,592	67	71,751	10	104,544	50	135,816	76	133,376	86	
Mississippi.....	780,783	34,546	428,000	02	38,914	55	55,592	21	83,388	31	72,269	87
Missouri.....	1,131,597	373,201	4,624,332	33	40,394	48	60,565	53	900,845	43	780,732	72
Montana Territory.....	2,168,380	205,754	2,564,674	03	235,152	18	353,965	93	505,807	36	475,111	99
Nebraska.....	459,240	11,707	1,162,134	46	1,922	86	2,746	95	4,130	49	5,571	79
Nevada.....	62,266	4,059	142,436	62	12,705	73	18,730	26	27,736	24	20,472	46
New Hampshire.....	346,991	14,302	17,216	20	16,110	57	23,015	11	34,522	73	8,510	52
New Jersey.....	1,131,116	53,249	659,808	18	59,982	65	85,680	50	128,534	26	111,396	36
New Mexico.....	119,563	57,156	708,220	88	64,388	72	91,977	78	137,965	09	113,569	75
New York.....	1,952,871	219,600	2,731,066	98	247,369	73	333,385	32	530,077	98	459,400	92
North Carolina.....	1,389,750	463,975	5,749,121	37	522,747	41	746,639	14	1,119,598	70	970,630	85
Ohio.....	3,142,292	1,038,161	1,668,121	51	140,514	24	241,560	33	320,394	55	821,305	66
Oregon.....	174,768	7,423	41,978	52	8,361	68	11,945	26	17,917	83	15,528	84
Pennsylvania.....	2,242,891	228,014	3,825,324	98	256,847	72	366,925	32	550,387	37	477,002	72
Rhode Island.....	275,531	24,793	307,210	44	27,925	22	39,897	46	55,845	19	51,866	70
South Carolina.....	995,577	369,848	4,582,792	26	416,617	48	595,167	82	892,751	83	773,718	27
Tennessee.....	1,549,559	410,732	5,049,266	62	462,660	24	660,943	26	991,414	78	859,235	52
Texas.....	1,000,000	392,918	1,320,000	36	329,000	58	601,945	43	763,000	36	727,037	57
Utah Territory.....	143,963	8,823	109,000	51	9,942	10	14,161	33	21,304	18	18,763	39
Vermont.....	332,284	15,387	186,236	51	17,839	68	25,483	87	32,130	84	28,023	79
Virginia.....	1,512,563	430,332	5,332,498	25	474,772	37	602,532	24	1,038,793	91	901,291	91
Washington Territory.....	75,116	3,889	48,188	66	4,389	70	6,258	27	9,387	40	8,135	73
West Virginia.....	618,457	85,376	1,057,863	93	96,172	30	137,389	00	206,053	81	175,605	71
Wisconsin.....	1,315,497	55,558	688,420	03	62,585	64	89,409	24	134,107	64	116,226	61
Wyoming.....	20,789	556	88,849	40	620	31	894	73	1,132	08	984	20

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

During the decade from 1870 to 1880 the population of the entire country increased about 31 per cent.—from 35,000,000 in round numbers to 50,000,000 and over. Assuming that the population in this country has continued to increase in the same ratio, and that it will continue so to increase until the next census is taken in 1890, the population of the country would then be 65,704,050. Assuming, too, that from 1880 until the present time the same ratio of increase has prevailed, the population on the 1st of next July would be over 59,000,000 and nearly 60,000,000 of souls. In round numbers, 60,000,000 may be stated as the present population of the United States.

The amount of money raised and expended for purposes of education in the country has, during the last six years, somewhat increased; but from the best statistical information that can be obtained, through the reports of superintendents of education and in other ways, the expenditures for common-school education in the country have not increased in any larger proportion than has the population of the country. If the southern portion of the country were selected as an illustration of this proposition, it would be found that the expenditure, which in 1880 was \$12,475,044, had increased in 1882 to \$14,325,285, an increase during those two years of \$1,850,244. The total expenditure in the year 1884 was \$16,655,755, and the increase from 1882 to 1884 was \$2,330,467. The total expenditure throughout the United States has increased in just about the same proportion according to the best information that I am able to obtain. I think that the actual expenditure throughout the country for common schools the last year was just about \$55,000,000. Of course the great mass of this expenditure is in the Northern States, as in fact the capacity to demand taxation for that purpose is mainly in the North. It is not the fact that the taxation of the latter section of the country is any larger than, and in many localities is not as large for school purposes as, in the Southern States to which allusion was first made; and in this connection I will ask to have inserted as part of my remarks a table showing expenditures each year from 1880 to 1884, inclusive, for the public schools of the Southern States, together with the addenda or memoranda at the bottom of the table:

Expenditure each year from 1880 to 1884, inclusive, for the public schools of the Southern States.

States.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	Total.
Alabama	\$375,465	\$110,690	\$403,602	\$445,498	\$522,727	\$2,160,982
Arkansas	238,056	388,412	503,857	479,471	561,745	2,171,511
Delaware	207,281	207,281	179,668	219,668	215,161	830,130
Florida	111,021	168,532	153,332	260	172,175	637,125
Georgia	471,029	531,171	531,171	531,171	531,171	2,634,522
Kentucky	863,190	1,218,224	735,076	700,790	470,790	4,188,294
Louisiana	480,320	411,481	411,481	385,435	466,330	2,215,636
Maryland	1,514,367	1,604,560	1,651,908	1,603,211	1,686,640	8,060,769
Mississippi	838,704	757,758	680,610	803,876	803,876	3,876,854
Missouri	3,152,178	3,468,739	3,753,224	3,767,049	4,283,135	18,429,206
North Carolina	352,882	409,639	509,730	623,411	555,265	2,439,923
South Carolina	1,244,620	1,315,633	339,349	429,100	429,100	3,392,102
Tennessee	721,262	732,199	824,154	814,863	824,154	4,064,219
Texas	763,346	1,073,346	803,850	1,150,323	1,661,476	5,122,350
Virginia	946,109	1,400,239	1,157,142	1,297,620	1,321,537	5,822,467
West Virginia	716,564	761,250	879,820	947,371	997,411	4,302,736
District of Columbia	338,567	527,312	579,312	669,691	559,697	2,774,579
Total	12,475,014	13,644,982	14,213,741	15,145,699	16,531,283	72,010,751

^a For the previous year, no report for this year having been received.

^b Thirteen counties not reporting.

^c For white schools only; estimating the expenditure for colored schools on the basis of the same per capita expenditure for white and colored children of legal school age, the total expenditure for the year 1882 is \$16,623, and for 1883 \$23,260.

INCREASE.

If the above total expenditure for 1882 be augmented by the estimated expenditure for colored schools in Kentucky, as explained above, the increase of expenditure for all the public schools in the States named for the year 1882 over that of 1880 is \$1,850,244. If the expenditure for 1884 be augmented in like manner the increase of expenditure for the public schools in the States named above for the year 1884 over that for 1882 is 2,330,467.

Total expenditure for 1882..... \$14,325,283
Total expenditure for 1880..... 12,475,044

Increase..... 1,850,244

Total expenditure for 1884..... \$16,655,755
Total expenditure for 1882..... \$14,325,283

Increase..... 2,330,467

*Includes an estimate for the colored schools of Kentucky not included in totals of table.

I will also introduce now a table showing the amount of money which was paid out to or deposited with the several States, known as the surplus fund, under the act of 1839, which table shows the entire amount to have been \$28,104,461.91 deposited with the States of the Union as the Union was then constituted:

Money distributed among the States under the act of June 23, 1836.

Maine	\$95,838 25	Vermont	\$69,086 79
New Hampshire	669,086 79	Connecticut	764,670 60
Massachusetts	1,335,173 53	Rhode Island	352,335 30

New York	\$4,014,520 71	Mississippi	\$382,325 30
New Jersey	764,670 60	Tennessee	1,433,757 39
Pennsylvania	2,867,514 78	Kentucky	1,433,757 39
Massachusetts	2,261,751 49	Ohio	2,067,260 34
Illinois	1,882,883 00	Michigan	382,335 30
Virginia	1,198,227 99	Indiana	804,670 60
North Carolina	1,433,757 39	Illinois	47,919 14
South Carolina	1,051,422 09	Michigan	286,751 49
Alabama	689,086 79	Arkansas	286,751 49
	477,919 14		28,101,644 91

This table is pertinent to this discussion because the amounts of money given to several of the States were appropriated to the common schools and became the basis of common-school funds, notably in the State of New York; and in others, I understand, it was expended in the course of time for the benefit of schools.

I desire also in this connection as a part of my remarks to introduce the report of the committee which is very largely matter of statistical calculation, which will be, I think, of great service in the investigation of the subject, and I will also make a part of my remarks on this occasion what I said to the Senate in opening the debate on this bill in the last Congress, which is an aggregation of a large mass of matter gathered from the census, tabulated matter collected from all parts of the country through the Bureau of Education, and many tables prepared by myself for the preparation of which was dictated and directed by myself, and tables prepared by other gentlemen of the Senate and House which illustrate the subject and which when printed will put the Senate in possession of a great mass of statistical knowledge bearing on this subject so far as it is to be found in the archives of the Government or as the result of the researches of individuals.

I desire also in this connection to have the bill printed as it passed the Senate in 1884; and also the bill as introduced in the Forty-seventh Congress. I do this in order that the Senate may have possession of all the information that I seek to present on this subject when it proceeds to a more minute consideration of the bill.

I may in this connection say that the bill as passed by the Senate during the last Congress was the result of a great deal of deliberation and a great deal of concession to conflicting views of Senators from all portions of the country and representing the two great parties of the country. It was the result of three weeks of earnest debate and as it finally passed it commanded the approval of three-fourths of the Senators voting, while those who were absent a large portion were also in favor of the bill. It is not precisely such a bill as I would myself prefer in all particulars; very likely it is not precisely the bill that any individual in the Senate would prefer should become the law if a law is to be enacted on this subject; but I believe that it would be hardly possible that another month of deliberation would result in the enactment of a bill which on the whole would be more useful to the country or more generally satisfactory to those whose deliberations must be concentrated upon it than the bill as it then passed and as it is now reported to the Senate. Personally I should be very glad indeed to see the amendment which the committee reports rejected and the thirteenth section become a part of the law if the bill is to become a law.

I think it is exceedingly important when school-houses are to be erected in the sparsely settled districts of our country where it is very largely the truth that there is no school-house, that there is no model of a school-house whatever, that under the provisions of that section there should be erected a school-house which should have all the proportions and all the qualities that appertain to a school-house constructed according to the latest scientific, sanitary, and other improvements so that it become a model in accordance with which erection should afterward be made all over that district, finally perhaps all over this country, and thus we should come in the end, and that very soon, to have the whole country supplied with school-houses which should be models of their kind. But, as I said before, the committee thought on the whole it would be better to report to the Senate the bill as it passed, after so long a discussion, after so mature a deliberation by so large a majority during the Forty-eighth Congress.

The report of the Committee on Education and Labor is as follows:

Report to accompany bill S. 194.

The Committee on Education and Labor, to whom was referred Senate bill 141, entitled "a bill to provide for the erection and temporary support of common schools," do consider the same, and report the same favorably to the Senate and recommend its passage with the following amendment:

"Strike out the thirteenth section of the bill."

The bill as thus amended is the same as that passed by the Senate during the Forty-eighth Congress, on the 7th day of April, 1884, on a vote of 33 yeas to 11 nays, but which failed to be considered in the House of Representatives.

Since that time, however, the bill has been more fully and thoroughly discussed throughout the whole country, and probably public sentiment is more largely in favor of this bill than was ever known to be the case with any other of like importance in the history of American legislation.

The committee believe that under these circumstances it would be useless to consume the time of the Senate with any elaboration of the law which is involved, and adopt the report of the Committee on Education and Labor, which is the report of the House of Representatives, which made a part of the bill before it was modified by the slight reduction of the amount of money appropriated by shortening the period of appropriation from ten to eight years, and in some other minor particulars, before its passage, was substantially the same as the bill finally passed by the Senate, and which is herewith reported favorably by your committee with the earnest recommendation that it do pass. It should be observed that early action by the Senate is important, that the measure of funds may be submitted to the House of Representatives seasonably, in order that there may be opportunity for the children of the country to reap the benefits of this

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proposed legislation during the ensuing year. It is difficult to realize the wrong inflicted by withholding from a child the opportunity for common-school education during a single one of the few years in which he must make his scanty preparation for the battle of life.

The report referred to, and hereby adopted by your committee, is as follows:

[Senate Report 101, part 2, Forty-eighth Congress, first session.]

Mr. BLAIR, from the Committee on Education and Labor, submitted the following supplemental report, to accompany bill S. 398:

The Committee on Education and Labor, to whom was referred Senate bill 398, entitled "An act to provide for the aid and temporary support of common schools," having reported back the same with amendments, recommending its passage, without discussion of the subject, in view of its great importance and the difficulty of collecting statistics and data for the consideration of the Senate, ask leave to make the following supplementary report:

The committee unanimously approve the amount proposed to be appropriated in the bill and its distribution on the basis of illiteracy, and a majority recommend the bill as it stands.

The matter following is largely from a presentation of the subject made by the chairman of the committee on a former occasion, for which, as matter of argument, the committee as a whole is not responsible, but the statistical tables and calculations having been prepared with considerable labor and care, and being substantially unchanged by later information, the same are incorporated with this supplementary report:

We propose, mainly, to state the nature and extent of the powers and obligations of the National Government to assist in the education of the people when necessary, for its and their own preservation; to develop and illustrate the actual condition of popular education in this country as revealed by the census of 1880, and from other reliable sources, and thereby to demonstrate the necessity of national aid to common schools at the present time; to explain the several measures pending in Congress relating that end in view, and to briefly give reasons for the bill. Senate bill No. 398, in our belief best calculated to secure the object desired by the advocates of all.

The United States are conceded by all to be a unit and a sovereignty within the scope of the powers expressly granted or necessarily implied in the written Constitution. The only real question between those who have held to the national idea on the one hand and that of State sovereignty on the other has been as to which had the right to decide upon their relative jurisdictions and to establish the precise point of their coincidence. Upon this question we have now no power to enter, because it is not essential to the maintenance of the argument on this occasion. Our leading proposition is that the General Government possesses the power and has imposed upon itself the duty of educating the people of the United States whenever for any cause those people are deficient in that degree of education which is essential to the discharge of their duties as citizens either of the United States or of the several States in which they may reside.

The idea of uniting a like power and even more imperative duty do not require the people of every State to educate its own citizens. It is a power not hostile but friendly to the States. Nor is it a power to be exercised unnecessarily. It should be exercised only in extremity, and when manifestly essential to the local, and therefore ultimately to the general, welfare. As the State may not engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay, so the General Government, not enter upon the duty of qualifying the people to do justice to his responsibilities to the nation and to the State until the local power is shown to be inadequate or negligent and the necessity is imperative and imperative. But the power is there.

There is no truth better established or more generally admitted than that the republican form of government can not exist unless the people are competent to govern themselves. The contrary doctrine would be an absurdity, a contradiction of fact. What is the true government? Is it the government of the people by the people? But how can the people govern, how can they exercise sovereignty, except they have the knowledge requisite to that end? Sovereignty requires as much intelligence when exercised by the people as a whole as when exercised by a single individual; it requires more. The monarch governs according to his will, not necessarily with that broad intelligence demanded by the public good. Government for the people by the people implies that degree of popular intelligence which will enable the mass of the people to comprehend the principles of law, to direct the administration of government in such a way as to promote the general welfare. Republican government, therefore, requires a higher degree of intelligence on the part of the sovereign than any other form. That sovereign is the whole body of the people. How, then, can the republican form of government exist and continue to exist unless from generation to generation in perpetual succession the citizen sovereigns are educated?

But what is education? Is it the result of education—the development and training of the powers of the individual? All human progress and happiness are, in the higher and broader sense, but education, which confers the capacity both to do and to enjoy. If, then, to educate is to civilize, the great duty which society owes to the individual is to educate him, and the benefit thus conferred he is bound to return.

The primary duty of society to its individual membership is by the law of nature imposed, in the first instance, upon the parent. But the parent can not fully discharge it. What then? Society, through the established forms of government, interferes and performs what the parent fails to perform. Is this any violation of the right of the parent? No one pretends it. It is merely the doing of that which, for the good of the child, the parent, and the whole social fabric, must be done. The right of the parent, that is, of the state, is paramount even to the right of individual parents, as in the general welfare of the state, the people, the supreme law. No parent has the right to say that his child shall remain ignorant. He has no right to breed firebrands and death to the society of which he is a part and to which he owes everything himself. Here is the foundation of the right of compulsory education on the part of the state.

If the parent fully exercised his right to properly educate his child there would be no occasion for the interference of the state, but he fails to do it. Benevolent voluntary associations. This is all. We have the right of society to assert its protection at once assert itself in behalf of the state as well as of the individual, and for the welfare of both it must put forth its power. These principles are fundamental, and are so plain that their assertion may seem superfluous. But we now come to an important question in the argument.

What in our complex system of government constitutes the "state," the organization that has the right and duty to educate the individual when the parent and voluntary associations fail? The state, in its various significations, but as used in this connection it is thus defined by Mr. Webster and by the writers upon law. "A political body or body-politic; the body of people united under one government, whatever may be the form of the government."

Mr. Bouvier says:

"In its most enlarged sense it signifies a self-sufficient body of persons united together in one community for the defense of their rights and to do right and justice to foreigners. In this sense the state means the whole people united into one body-politic, and the state and the people of the state are equivalent expressions."

There can be no doubt that under our system the word "State" includes the combined powers of both the United States and of the several States of whose the former is composed. The territory which constitutes the one includes the many. The citizens of the many are individually and identically the citizens of the nation at large. Every citizen of the United States who resides in a State

is a citizen thereof. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." The rights and powers of the greatest part of the 300,000,000 people who are citizens of the United States and of the several States are vested in the Government of the United States, in the governments of the several States, or in the people themselves. Although these three depositories of rights and powers are "distinct like the billows," yet they constitute one great whole, and act together harmoniously for the individual and common good, each independent of the other in its sphere, like the independent yet concurring powers of nature in the realms of physical life, where—

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul.

It is only as we use the word "state" in this complete sense that the people of the United States, who are also the people of the several States and of the Territories, constitute a unit, and are entitled to the same protection and the same community for the exercise of their rights, and to do right and justice to foreigners."

Now, the right of self-defense, which is the right of self-preservation, is the right to live and to be. The right of the people to be at all implies and includes the right to constitute and maintain the state—that is to say, government—and to prescribe its form, for human existence is impossible without government. The governing power must know how to govern or it can not govern. Citizens must do their duty to the government to do it well. The people abdicated the functions of government between the national and the sectional or the State authorities, and have retained in themselves the initial exercise of all power through the ballot. The ballot is the republican form of government both in the nation and in the State.

Intelligence is necessary in the individual, who is the sovereign in the one as well as the other. The right and duty of the national power to govern and to maintain to preserve the welfare of the nation, and to defend it and to exert its sovereign power, though its form is continental, are absolute. It is the right and duty of the whole to preserve the whole, and the right and duty of the whole to preserve the whole implies the preservation of all the parts by that whole, to the existence of which all the parts are necessary. It is not necessary that a man should have written permission to live. He needs no license stamped or sealed to give him the right to breathe.

His creation implied all that. Just as the people, when they created government, were a people, continental, republican in form, and made them by their blessings and replenish the earth with their civilizing and enabling activities, necessarily gave them the breath of life and the inherent power to preserve that life. To have written into the constitutions of the State or of the National Government the right of self-preservation would have been as superfluous as to have required a written order for the sun to shine, for water to run down hill, or for an acre of ground to open the way for a man to walk. The right to defend the soil throughout the nation is the right to preserve the Government and the nation. That right can not be curtailed. It is geographically coextensive with the jurisdiction of the Government itself, and self-preservation compels its exercise by the National Government whenever there is failure for any reason on the part of the parent and the State.

OBLIGATION TO GUARANTEE GOVERNMENTS REPUBLICAN IN FORM.

Still again. The whole people of the United States, that is to say, the nation, by the primary act of the masses, by the adoption of the written constitution, have guaranteed in the written terms of the constitutional law of the land that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government! How is that obligation to be fulfilled? Must its performance await revolution, and must destruction precede preservation? Is it a guarantee of possession to stand by while war and tempest obliterate, and then endeavor to restore? Is reconstruction the only or is it the better way in which the obligation to guarantee a government republican in form to the States of this Union can be fulfilled? Is it the choice of power, with the sword of command of course? Does not the duty to guarantee imply the right to prevent and to preserve even more strongly than to restore? Prevention might be possible when restoration would prove to be impossible.

It is a conceded proposition that where a duty is imposed all the power necessary to its performance is conceded, and the choice of means, so far as there is no prohibition, goes with the power. The obligation to guarantee, and the choice of means to do it, doubtless are there by the power but also of the absolute duty of the National Government, to perform its obligation of guarantee in the only effective way in which it is possible? When does the obligation to guarantee attach? Did it not commence with the adoption of the Constitution, and is it not continuous in its operation? Does it not attach as a right in the Territories, which are inchoate States? Does it not follow every movement of the concurrent life of the nation and of the States, and enter into all their coextensive functions? How is that obligation to be fulfilled?

Not to educate is to destroy. It follows inevitably that not to educate is to break the guarantee of republican government to the States. If the parent and the State fail to educate the citizen, does not this clause of the Constitution compel the nation to educate its child?

THE GENERAL WELFARE.

But Congress has express power "to provide for the general welfare of the United States," and to exert its utmost power of taxation to promote that which was one of the greatest and most difficult tasks of the Constitution. That power was ordained and established by the whole people of the United States of America. That people well understood that without intelligence it would be impossible "to preserve the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity." It goes without argument to say that in no way can the general welfare be so promoted as by the general diffusion of knowledge and the discipline of the mental powers of the masses of the people, which can only be accounted for by commencing education in every school and in every home.

Individual members are but agencies established by society to secure the happiness of its individual members. Whenever they cease to promote the end for which they were created they should be destroyed, and whenever and so far as they fail they should modify or reverse their action.

If in the past the National Government has not borne its due proportion of the burdens of the education of the people, or if new conditions have arisen which require a larger or more effective effort, with the several States, to do more in securing to all citizens of the Republic that degree of intelligence which is indispensable to the safety of society and to the happiness of the individual, who is at once the subject and the sovereign in both local and national administration, then the time has come for a new departure, and the wishes of states must yield to the expanding limbs of the giant who is arousing himself for the labors of the time which has already come.

But the founders of the colonies, and the fathers and mothers of this Republic never conceived of the possibility of its existence except as its foundations should be laid upon knowledge and virtue, and that the promotion of sound learning was deemed to be the fundamental duty of the national power. The time would fail to speak of the founders of the colonies, and of the constant efforts which they put forth from New Hampshire to Georgia to establish schools and colleges for the education of those who were to enjoy the rights of citizenship within their respective borders. The Revolution was the outgrowth of the school, the college, and of the free worship of God. The constitution of every State as well as

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struction to the prefects of the departments of Morbihan and Vendée (on the western coast of France), on the condition of education in these two very hilly districts.

" In Morbihan 60 per cent. of the conscripts for the army, and the same proportion of persons who present themselves at the mairies (city halls) for marriages, can not read or write. A number of communes have already voted sums amounting to 500,000 francs for the purpose of increasing the number of schools, and the minister of public instruction now offers them a further subsidy of 1,000,000 francs for the same purpose.

" In Vendée, owing to similar causes, there also prevails a lamentable state of ignorance. If one were to speak of illiteracy, he would not be far from the truth. In order to attend school hundreds of children would have to walk distances of 8 to 10 miles. The minister offers the department a subsidy of 600,000 francs for the purpose of increasing the number of schools.

" *Government aid to primary education.*—In 1860 the government aid to primary education amounted to 5,424,036 francs; in 1870 (under the empire), 9,817,513 francs; in 1877 (under the republic), 22,035,760 francs. In 1881 the government aid will be about 30,000,000 francs, in 1882, 31,000,000 francs, and in 1883, 32,000,000 francs to enable all the communes to enforce the primary school law. In addition to the above amount the departments spend this year 23,000,000 francs and the communes 60,000,000 francs for primary education. During the two weeks from April 15 to April 30, 1882, the Government has spent 1,244,835 francs for new school-houses. The total amount spent by the government alone in 1881-82 for all phases of instruction amounts to 114,353,941 francs, or \$22,717,880.

2. BELGIUM.

" The following table shows the government grants to education from 1831 to 1882:

	Francs.
1831	217,000
1843	466,000
1845	711,000
1852	1,230,000
1857	1,689,000
1864	3,707,000
1870	6,425,000
1873	11,500,000
1882	20,400,000

" The population of Belgium is 5,493,000.

" In 1815, when Belgium separated from Holland, there were only 1,146 public primary schools. In 1875 there were 4,152 public primary schools and 2,615 adult schools. In 1847, 41.06 per cent. of the conscripts were illiterate; in 1850, 35.35 per cent., and in 1875 only 19.59 per cent.

3. ITALY.

" Italy has a population of 28,209,620, and a school population (6-12) of 4,527,582. Of this number 2,057,977 attend school, against 1,604,978 in 1870. The number of public elementary schools has risen from 32,782 in 1850 to 41,108 in 1879. The annual grant to these schools in 1882 is 31,000,000 lire (\$6,200,000). The 7,422 private elementary schools receive no state aid. In 1873 the government grant to 15,000,000 lire was increased to 18,120,000 lire (\$4,000,000) and in 1875 to 21,560,000 lire (\$4,300,000). This shows an increase of 16,000,000 lire, or \$3,200,000, since 1873.

" The above grants are made in addition to large buildings and gardens given for educational purposes in nearly every city and town of the kingdom.

" According to the census of 1861, out of a population of 21,777,834, there were 16,999,701 who could neither read nor write—7,889,238 males and 9,110,463 females.

" In 1871 out of a population of 26,301,154, there were 19,533,792 who could neither read nor write.

" The present minister of public instruction has taken energetic steps to provide accommodations for all the children of school age, and to enforce the law which makes attendance at school obligatory for all children between the ages of six and twelve.

4. ENGLAND.

" The annual parliamentary grants to elementary schools in England and Wales was: In 1840, £30,000; in 1850, £180,110; in 1853, £668,873; in 1862, £774,782; in 1865, £1,200,000; in 1867, £2,062,201; in 1868, £680,429; in 1869, £9,027,711; in 1870, £91,479; in 1873, £1,313,078; in 1875, £1,566,271; in 1877, £2,127,730; in 1879, £2,733,464; in 1882, £2,749,863.

" The number of schools has risen from 10,751 in 1872 to 17,614 in 1880; the number of seats from 2,397,745 in 1872 to 4,246,733 in 1880; and the average number of children in attendance from 1,445,326 in 1872 to 2,750,916 in 1880.

" The population of England and Wales is 25,968,286.

5. SCOTLAND.

" Population, 3,734,370. The parliamentary grant to elementary schools amounts to £68,512 for 1882-83. The number of elementary schools has increased from 1,902 in 1872 to 3,056 in 1880, the number of seats from 267,412 in 1872 to 602,054 in 1880, and the number of children in average attendance from 206,090 in 1872 to 404,018 in 1880.

6. IRELAND.

" Population, 5,159,839. Number of elementary schools, 7,522. Number of pupils, 431,955. The parliamentary grants for popular education in Ireland amounted to a total of £94,948,669 in the ten years, 1860-69; in 1868 it was £260,195; in 1872 £420,390; and in 1882-83 it amounts to £729,868.

7. PRUSSIA.

" Population, 27,251,007. The government expenditure for education amounts to \$11,458,856 in 1882 against \$10,000,000 in 1881. As nearly all the Prussian schools derive income from endowments, the government grants are chiefly devoted to the establishment of new schools and the improvement of old ones.

8. RUSSIA.

" Russia, with a population of 75,500,000 and a school population of 15,000,000, has only 33,357 elementary schools and 1,213,325 pupils. The annual government grant to all grades of schools amounts to \$9,000,000. Of this amount only \$475,000 is devoted to elementary education. The finances of Russia exhibit large annual deficits, caused partly by an enormous expenditure for war, and partly by the construction of railways. According to official returns, the total war outlay increased in Russia during the last ten years from \$1,635,000,000.

" The mass of the population of Russia is as yet without education. In 1880 only two out of every hundred recruits levied for the army were able to read and write, but the proportion had largely increased in 1870, when eleven out of every one hundred were found to be possessed of these elements of knowledge.

9. AUSTRIA.

" Education until recently was in a backward state in Austria, the bulk of the agricultural population, constituting two-thirds of the empire, being almost entirely illiterate. During the last twelve years, however, the government has made vigorous efforts to bring about an improvement by founding new schools at the expense of the state wherever the conveniences were too poor. A law was passed in 1870 making education obligatory for all children between the ages of six and twelve.

" The government expenditure for public education has increased from \$2,300,000 in 1870 to \$6,500,000 in 1881."

In this connection, as illustrating the educational impulse moving the whole British Empire, we annex the following data of schools in the Province of Ontario.

" The population of Ontario is 1,913,460 and the school population 489,924. In 1884 there were in the province 2,505 schools, with 96,756 pupils; in 1875, 5,058 schools, with 494,065 pupils; and in 1880, 5,245 schools, with 496,853 pupils. The total expenses for education were \$275,000 in 1884, \$2,297,694 in 1881, \$3,258,125 in 1873, \$3,432,210 in 1878, and \$3,414,267 in 1880."

It will be observed that in every instance cited the nation assumes the duty and exercises the power not only of assisting but of controlling the subdivisions of the empire, and of the provinces and states, in the maintenance of the children. The principle is fully recognized that when the general welfare demands, individuals and subdivisions must submit, if necessary for any cause, to receive compulsory blessings, coupled with which is the duty which implies the right of the whole to provide for the protection and safety of all the parts by the utmost exercise of its power. True, these governments are not so complex as ours, but the principle is the same.

It is impossible to dwell upon this branch of the subject as it opened before the Senate the evidence, coming from almost every Christian and from some pagan people, like the Japanese, for instance, that the human race is arousing itself to the realization of its innate possibilities. The most astounding and humiliating fact of which we have knowledge, bearing upon the relative educational status of our own compared with the people of Europe, is this, that to-day only 14 per cent. of the children of the United States are in school, while 60 per cent. of the children of the German Empire are in school, or, in other words, immigrating to America is not an incentive to education. In other words, immigration no longer adds essentially to American illiteracy. It is probable that within a few years teachers from abroad will compete with our own for the higher wages paid to instructors in our common schools.

ACTUAL STATE OF EDUCATION IN THIS COUNTRY.

We now call attention to the actual condition of the American people as revealed by the most authentic evidence. Fortunately the returns of the census are reliable, so reliable that the whole world has been enabled to depend upon the statistics of the Commissioner of Education; the most important of which has been translated, and we are enabled to give the country the cold steel of reliable statistics. These are more eloquent than any other possible statement, and demand the profoundest study of every citizen of the land.

But this should be remembered: it by no means follows that the person who can read and write is therefore qualified to discharge his duty as a sovereign. The time when education has been fixed as by common consent in the preparation of official data at that level, but the suffrage itself is universal to men in nearly every State.

We recognize the right to govern himself as a part of the inalienable heritage of every man regardless of literary attainments. But the capacity to read and to write is so obviously necessary to the proper exercise of this inherent right that, as a rule, we instinctively demand of every citizen that he shall possess himself of this power, and we demand of society that the opportunity to do so shall be given to every man and woman. True, the bulk of the human race has been largely wrought by unlettered men, and there are many educated fools, while many a philosopher and natural leader can not read.

But we would remind those who judge hopefully of our condition because a majority of our people can read and write, that of those who have the power a large proportion possess it very imperfectly, and almost never exercise it. Of those who can write, many are not fit to put their thoughts in paper, and others do not.

Thousands never get an idea from the printed page. The qualification is but nominal, and suffices merely to accomplish the ordinary business of life under the careful supervision of others, and is not really the source of knowledge and means of interchange of thought. So that the figures of every census are far more favorable than the facts as to the real mental condition of the people. This consideration should never be lost sight of in the study of the problem. Hence the difficulty of the school system, organized to be perfect in his part. How shall the whole people be fitted to the high level which subjects are unknown, and where equality and sovereignty are convertible terms?

The population of the United States in 1860 was thirty-one and one-half millions. In 1870, thirty-eight and one-half millions; in 1880, 50,000,000. In 1890 it will be at least 70,000,000. It is to-day nearly 52,000,000. So it must be remembered all the while that these tremendous numbers and alarming conditions revealed in the following returns are constantly expanding in their gigantic proportions and overwhelming gravity.

CONDITION OF THE SUFFRAGE.

Table No. 1 we take from the speech of Senator BUTLER, lately delivered in this Chamber during the Forty-seventh Congress. It is from the last census returns, which is the rule to estimate one voter for every five persons in the community, and it is the rule to estimate one voter for every five persons in the community, which makes the voting population of the country 10,000,000 in 1880. The total of those who can read and write is 6,204,363, or 62 per cent. of the population, of whom 2,056,463 are whites and 2,147,900 are colored, including about 300,000 Indians and 100,000 Asiatics. Assuming one-half of these to be females, and therefore to have no sons, and not only to be without but to be unfit to exercise the suffrage, and making allowance for the unnaturalized citizens, there will remain 2,000,000 of illiterate voters, about equally divided between the white and colored races. One voter in five cannot be expected to be qualified to vote, and this will not be the case except from heavy tax. He can not tell the Constitution of his country from the code of Draco. He is the prey of the demagogue or the victim of prejudice, but he holds the balance of power in almost every State and in the nation at large.

Follow down these columns so pregnant with the demonstration of danger and dishonor to the Republic.

The other voters—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, in short of every Middle, Southern, and most of the Western States, have power, if combined, to decide any political issue that is now, or for years is likely to be, pending between political parties. They represent ten of our fifty millions of people.

TABLE NO. I.

States and Territories.	White.	Colored.*	Total.
The United States.....	2,056,463	2,147,900	4,204,363
Alabama.....	99,174	200,878	297,052
Arizona.....	3,610	63,600	4,183
Arkansas.....	50,235	68,444	118,679
California.....	22,625	22,100	44,725
Colorado.....	7,065	465	7,400
Connecticut.....	23,339	1,497	24,836
Dakota.....	3,206	458	3,664
Delaware.....	6,462	7,935	14,397
District of Columbia.....	3,649	19,441	23,090
Florida.....	10,885	39,753	50,638
Georgia.....	71,693	247,318	319,011

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

TABLE No. 1—Continued.

States and Territories.	White.	Colored.*	Total.
Idaho.	510	943	1,453
Illinois.	99,356	10,897	109,753
Indiana.	77,076	8,806	85,882
Iowa.	11,965	11,498	23,463
Kansas.	35,815	1,968	37,773
Kentucky.	124,300	96,738	220,461
Louisiana.	34,513	178,789	213,602
Maine.	16,234	335	16,569
Maryland.	34,155	66,357	100,512
Massachusetts.	81,671	2,221	83,892
Michigan.	48,291	8,708	56,949
Minnesota.	27,645	7,469	35,114
Mississippi.	27,000	208,122	235,121
Missouri.	83,324	40,357	123,281
Montana.	525	777	1,302
Nebaska.	7,821	496	8,317
Nevada.	1,807	1,638	3,445
New Hampshire.	10,694	81	10,775
New Jersey.	57,948	7,844	65,192
New Mexico.	33,623	5,209	38,832
New York.	182,680	16,194	198,874

TABLE No. 1—Continued.

States and Territories.	White.	Colored.*	Total.
North Carolina.	116,437	174,152	290,589
Ohio.	92,616	14,152	106,768
Oregon.	2,904	2,387	5,291
Pennsylvania.	174,286	15,351	189,887
Rhode Island.	18,611	1,139	19,750
South Carolina.	31,335	200,063	234,398
Tennessee.	114,120	125,300	245,670
Texas.	65,117	12,327	187,444
Utah.	5,385	618	5,903
Vermont.	12,872	129	13,201
Virginia.	71,093	214,340	255,344
Washington.	1,011	1,884	2,895
West Virginia.	45,340	7,639	52,879
Wisconsin.	45,798	981	46,779
Wyoming.	285	144	285

* Including Indians and Asiatics.

Table No. 2 presents a statistical view, prepared in 1882, of the condition of popular education in each State and Territory:

TABLE No. 2.—Public school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, prepared by Commissioner of Education.

States and Territories.	School age.	School population.	Enrolled in public schools.	Average daily attendance.	Average duration of school in days.	Expenditure in the year—per capita of pupils enrolled in public schools.	Number of public schools.	Teachers in public schools.	Teachers in private schools.*	Pupils in private schools.*	Available school funds (per capita).	Permanent school fund, including portions not now available.	Interest on permanent fund, including funds of schools, lands.
Alabama.	7-21	388,003	179,490	117,978	80.0	\$2 08	4,594	4,415	—	—	\$2,528,360	\$138,013	\$138,013
Arkansas.	5-21	247,547	77,742	—	—	—	3,106	1,427	—	—	1,144,375	610,180,185	610,180,185
California.	5-17	215,972	158,204	100,965	146.0	61.17	2,803	3,595	14,953	2,066,300	2,194,465	182,692	182,692
Colorado.	6-21	33,566	22,119	12,618	178	17 80	678	—	—	—	36,000	—	ce7,041
Connecticut.	4-16	140,235	119,694	178,421	179.2	11 01	1,630	23,100	612	13,900	2,021,346	2,021,346	112,183
Delaware.	6-21	33,459	27,823	—	158.0	8 12	561	594	—	—	448,999	—	26,607
Florida.	4-21	88,677	39,315	27,046	1,131	1,095	1,131	1,095	—	—	246,900	—	dd17,962
Georgia.	6-18	643,444	236,533	145,194	1 99	65,916	6,000	1,680	48,452	—	—	—	—
Illinois.	6-21	1,014,831	701,641	431,638	9.9	1,014	22,250	1,436	—	—	9,049,302	9,019,302	9,019,302
Indiana.	5-21	708,536	511,343	391,638	130.0	7.86	9,833	18,978	124,112	—	9,065,255	621,914	621,914
Iowa.	5-21	586,536	426,057	250,836	9.0	11 25	11,084	21,598	474	12,724	3,484,411	282,902	282,902
Kansas.	5-21	310,647	231,434	137,667	107.0	7 55	5,233	7,780	979	65,205	2,297,500	11,815,519	451,608
Kentucky.	6-21	545,161	265,581	f193,874	102.0	3 85	6,764	—	—	—	1,755,682	114,172	114,172
Louisiana.	6-18	273,845	68,440	45,626	118.0	66 74	1,494	2,025	u247	u4,404	—	1,130,867	30,320
Maine.	4-21	214,656	149,827	103,111	120.0	6 53	6,934	—	—	—	438,287	—	27,995
Maryland.	5-21	527,000	162,451	300,778	22,000	8 84	3,804	3,804	—	—	906,325	—	52,016
Massachusetts.	5-15	367,321	260,677	220,397	10 39	10 39	5,570	5,595	—	—	2,088,386	—	131,016
Michigan.	5-29	506,221	362,556	213,898	141.0	6 11	6,605	13,949	703	18,854	2,880,912	3,340,949	226,055
Minnesota.	5-21	271,428	180,248	f117,161	94.0	68 42	24,064	5,215	—	—	4,449,728	15,000,000	250,485
Mississippi.	5-21	426,689	236,704	156,761	77.5	2 70	5,367	5,500	—	—	815,229	—	126,233
Missouri.	6-20	232,474	476,476	f219,132	100.0	12 29	8,641	10,447	—	—	8,950,806	ce936,245	—
Nebraska.	5-21	142,318	92,549	f60,156	109.0	2,922	4,100	—	—	—	3,325,217	f20,754,810	134,025
Nebraska.	6-21	510,356	373,390	355,108	109.0	10 84	2,928	—	—	—	630,000	—	—
New Hampshire.	5-21	170,102	50,538	164,104	101,15	—	2,928	—	—	—	53,066	—	53,066
New Jersey.	5-18	330,532	201,961	115,194	192.0	9 48	3,477	572	42,530	—	1,454,667	2,515,783	2,515,783
New York.	5-21	1,641,173	1,031,593	583,179	170.0	10 09	20,630	30,730	u139,476	37,265,807	—	f170,000	—
North Carolina.	6-21	459,324	225,606	117,802	54.0	1 12	5,503	4,130	—	—	z200,000	aa531,555	8,000
Ohio.	6-21	61,043,320	240,320	174,138	476,276	150.0	8 59	12,045	23,684	292,650	—	240,745	—
Oregon.	4-20	55,615	37,533	27,435	89.6	8 37	6,865	1,314	212	3,744	562,830	36,910	36,910
Pennsylvania.	6-21	291,000	207,310	97,310	601,624	147.0	11,376	518,386	21,575	2,947,066	—	gg1,000,000	—
Rhode Island.	5-21	1,228,373	143,072	29,065	11 63	77.0	2,973	1,271	—	208	6,675	210,376	12,448
South Carolina.	6-16	154,362	86,290	191,461	68.0	5,522	6,954	1,665	41,068	42,512,500	62,512,500	44,677	44,677
Tennessee.	6-21	544,862	290,141	—	673,000	6 127	4,361	—	—	—	ce385,571	44,623	44,623
Texas.	8-14	230,527	186,785	—	73,000	2,616	4,326	4,873	1,609	25,692	669,087	553,690	553,690
Vermont.	5-20	92,831	75,238	48,606	125.0	3 82	4,854	4,854	—	—	—	1,468,765	—
Virginia.	5-21	555,807	229,736	128,409	113.0	10 15	804	25,938	2,747,844	423,389	423,989	15,320	15,320
West Virginia.	6-21	210,113	142,850	91,703	99.0	4 43	63,725	4,134	—	—	2,955,112	184,409	184,409
Wisconsin.	4-20	453,228	299,258	157,510	162.5	7 51	5,984	10,115	—	—	—	—	—
Total.		15,128,078	9,679,653	1,743,839			187,005	280,143	12,993	560,239		6,392,048	
Arizona.	6-21	7,148	4,212	2,847	109.0		101						
Dakota.	5-21	15,030	8,042	3,170	88.0		286						
District of Columbia.	6-17	43,558	26,431	20,651	193.0	14 87	p325	453			60,385	2,225	
Idaho.	5-21	16,163	10,473	—	—	—	154	—			—		
Indiana.		411,444	36,698	32,944		—	212	110			53,624,425	186,639	
Montana.	4-21	7,070	3,970	2,506	96.0		153	161			—		
New Mexico.	c7-18	d29,312	c5,151	e321,512			c138	c147	c81	c1,259			
Utah.	6-18	40,672	24,326	17,178	125.0		b373	517					
Washington.	b5-21	b24,223	b14,032	b9,585	b87,5	b8 15	b340	b500	b31	b451			
Wyoming.	b7-21	b2,090	b1,297	b1,297	b649		b49	b49	b49	b49			
Total.		173,457	101,118	61,154			1,696	2,610	112	6,921		188,684	
Grand total.		15,803,585	9,780,773	6,804,993			188,701	282,753	13,105	567,160		6,580,628	

a For whites; b for colored G-16. c In 1870. d In 1875. e In 1870. f Census of 1870. g In 1873. h In 1877. i In the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Nations. j In the five civilized tribes. k For the winter. l In white schools only. m In cities; 176 in counties. n In evening schools. o In 1879; exclusive of New Orleans private schools. p Approximately. r Number necessary to supply the schools. s Private schools in public buildings. t In Academies and private schools. x Estimated average number of pupils. y Includes the United States deposit fund as reported in 1878, amounting to \$4,041,321. z In State and United States 4 per cents, ordered to be sold by the last Legislature. aa Exclusive of 1,000,000 acres of swamp land made subject to entry sale by last Legislature. bb Funds in the five civilized tribes, whole or part interest of which is used for school purposes. cc From rents in 1879. dd State apportionment. ee Includes revenue from other funds. ff Apportionment not includable interest of the United States deposit funds. gg State apportionment in lieu of interest on permanent fund. hh As far as reported by State superintendents; accompanying is a more specific report on this point, which approximately exhibits (if we exclude the preparatory work done by private normal schools) the number of private institutions, with teachers and pupils in them, giving secondary or superior instruction in each State and Territory.

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

9

The concentration of wealth, population, and power in cities makes the concentration of education therein an element of great importance in forming a correct opinion upon the whole subject, and should be considered by itself. We therefore furnish the needed data in the following table:

TABLE No. 3.—Table prepared at the request of Hon. H. W. Blair, by the Bureau of Education, showing the total population, school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, length of school year in days, number of pupils or children of school age not attending school, per cent. of school population enrolled in schools, per cent. of school population not enrolled in school, in eighty-eight cities (census of 1880).

Cities.	Population.	School population.	Enrollment.	Average attendance.	Total number of teachers.	Length of school year in days.	Per cent. of school population—	
							Pupils not attending.	Enrolled.
Mobile, Ala.	29,132	4,659	4,014	123	172	875	50	50
Selma, Ala.	7,529	1,757	882	717	14	3,666	41	59
Little Rock, Ark.	13,138	6,169	2,503	1,635	33	180	74	26
Oakland, Cal.	34,555	8,108	5,996	5,067	129	206	75	21
Sacramento, Cal.	24,740	4,945	3,996	3,496	75	1,122	71	29
San Francisco, Cal.	23,339	5,932	3,290	2,150	211	1,572	71	29
Denver, Colo.	35,629	6,700	3,210	1,953	65	190	2,490	56
Bridgeport, Conn.	29,148	6,641	5,225	3,529	91	210	1,412	79
Hartford, Conn.	42,015	9,652	7,612	4,886	140	201	2,040	79
New Haven, Conn.	62,882	13,897	11,897	7,931	230	200	2,000	86
Wilmington, Del.	42,478	7,043	4,472	114	207	11,411	58	42
Georgetown and Washington, D. C.	159,871	27,656	15,224	12,568	235	208	207	11
Jacksonville, Fla.	7,630	1,611	1,212	1,027	17	240	207	11
Key West, Fla.	9,830	3,415	1,688	828	42	240	247	34
Atlanta, Ga.	37,409	10,500	4,100	2,609	68	200	6,400	39
Augusta, Ga.	21,891	9,366	4,927	3,224	32	183	5,339	43
Chicago, Ill.	502,185	107,035	59,562	42,375	896	200	77,473	45
Indianapolis, Ind.	20,259	9,670	4,761	3,886	76	200	4,404	49
Toronto, Ont.	75,056	26,879	13,935	8,925	219	200	11,853	52
Des Moines, Iowa	20,422	5,905	3,446	2,757	53	190	3,000	57
Dubuque, Iowa	22,408	3,576	2,120	1,562	41	190	2,416	57
Leavenworth, Kans.	16,546	9,476	8,686	2,365	71	200	5,790	39
Topeka, Kans.	15,452	2,816	1,935	1,607	34	180	3,197	49
Covington, Ky.	29,720	10,094	3,286	2,485	60	198	6,809	32
Louisville, Ky.	123,758	46,587	19,990	13,498	325	215	26,597	43
New Orleans, La.	20,100	56,947	17,120	15,400	47	208	36,061	31
Bangor, Me.	16,836	5,179	2,459	2,458	71	167	55	43
Lewiston, Me.	19,083	5,974	3,558	2,061	76	187	2,416	60
Portland, Me.	33,810	10,660	6,797	4,347	128	200	3,863	36
Baltimore, Md.	332,313	86,961	48,066	29,961	822	186	35,895	55
Boston, Mass.	362,839	57,703	69,768	46,130	1,201	206	2,065	*103
Lawrence, Mass.	39,151	8,805	4,211	4,232	118	200	2,065	70
Lowell, Mass.	59,475	12,311	6,157	4,924	31	200	3,184	41
Worcester, Mass.	58,531	16,988	7,913	5,720	218	200	4,814	40
Detroit, Mich.	116,340	33,467	15,719	10,818	250	200	23,748	40
Grand Rapids, Mich.	32,016	9,784	6,727	3,590	106	200	4,057	58
Minneapolis, Minn.	46,887	12,806	6,142	4,248	120	200	6,664	48
Saint Paul, Minn.	41,473	4,338	3,338	3,030	96	200	62	38
Vicksburg, Miss.	11,814	3,000	1,196	1,000	21	1,804	39	61
Kansas City, Mo.	55,755	11,325	5,253	3,140	62	200	4,068	46
St. Louis, Mo.	324,000	53,368	29,573	25,583	200	200	4,068	47
Saint Louis, Mo.	250,518	106,372	57,780	36,449	1,044	200	50,592	52
Omaha, Nebr.	30,518	7,381	3,716	57	200	3,665	50	50
Dover, N. H.	11,687	2,350	1,880	1,436	46	180	470	80
Manchester, N. H.	32,630	4,774	4,350	2,818	86	190	424	91
Nashua, N. H.	13,397	2,072	2,520	1,630	52	180	454	*121
Portsmouth, N. H.	9,630	2,251	1,891	1,283	33	200	62	38
Jersey City, N. J.	122,676	24,226	12,905	10,500	203	200	18,459	55
Newark, N. J.	136,508	41,935	19,778	11,100	270	210	22,457	43
Paterson, N. J.	51,031	13,672	7,901	4,750	142	200	5,571	58
Albany, N. Y.	90,758	33,411	14,049	9,175	229	210	21,362	40
Brooklyn, N. Y.	566,663	161,083	96,663	52,677	1,315	205	84,720	53
Buffalo, N. Y.	155,134	56,000	18,666	14,555	431	201	37,394	33
New Haven, Vt.	1,206,969	38,000	270,176	132,720	3,357	204	114,720	70
Rochester, N. Y.	36,366	57,970	15,359	8,230	230	200	23,131	57
Wilmette, N. C.	17,350	4,921	3,666	2,827	4,055	18	18	82
Cincinnati, Ohio.	255,139	87,618	27,279	27,279	671	225	51,497	41
Cleveland, Ohio.	160,146	49,256	24,262	16,807	596	196	24,994	49
Columbus, Ohio.	51,647	14,662	7,902	5,953	149	200	6,760	54
Dayton, Ohio.	38,678	11,660	6,114	4,527	127	200	5,548	52
Toledo, Ohio.	50,137	14,838	7,996	4,739	180	200	7,238	51
Portland, Oreg.	17,277	4,669	2,550	1,565	46	202	2,019	57
Allegheny, Pa.	78,682	11,610	8,287	7,028	202	193	—	43
Philadelphia, Pa.	877,170	105,541	94,145	2,295	207	—	—	—
Pittsburgh, Pa.	156,389	26,937	17,387	526	—	—	—	—
Seranton, Pa.	45,850	19,860	10,174	6,861	169	220	9,626	51
Newport, R. I.	15,693	3,419	2,580	1,808	53	198	839	75
Providence, R. I.	104,857	19,108	13,963	9,630	283	200	5,115	75
Charleston, S. C.	40,414	15,727	7,264	5,934	91	197	5,443	57
Columbia, S. C.	10,036	—	1,566	—	32	—	—	43
Chattanooga, Tenn.	12,892	3,061	1,855	1,382	30	180	876	71
Knoxville, Tenn.	9,693	2,100	1,509	930	26	200	591	72
Memphis, Tenn.	33,592	9,011	4,105	2,389	63	151	4,906	45
Nashville, Tenn.	43,350	12,460	6,098	4,299	96	190	6,362	49
Houston, Tex.	16,513	2,746	1,756	1,172	22	160	990	64
San Antonio, Tex.	23,939	3,022	1,534	934	22	205	1,438	52
Burlington, Vt.	11,365	—	1,566	—	32	—	—	43
Rutland, Vt.	12,149	—	2,393	—	64	—	—	43
Norfolk, Va.	21,956	6,695	1,613	1,117	26	210	5,082	24
Petersburg, Va.	21,656	7,417	4,985	4,494	28	174	5,432	27
Richmond, Va.	63,600	21,536	5,821	4,778	129	193	15,715	27
Madison, Wis.	10,324	3,517	1,393	1,745	34	185	1,572	53
Milwaukee, Wis.	115,587	37,742	17,055	11,149	233	200	20,446	55
Oshkosh, Wis.	15,748	5,874	2,017	2,017	53	3,637	38	62
	8,300,081	2,052,923	1,302,776	858,533	21,672	750,147	—	—

*More than the school population. This is due to the fact that they are allowed to attend school after the school age established by law.

Average attendance about two-thirds of enrollment or one-third of population of school age. Thirty-four cities 50 per cent. and upward not enrolled at all.

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As Tables Nos. 2 and 3 contain an affirmative statement of the agencies at work in the production of intelligence among the people, and to a certain extent of their results, I have endeavored in Table No. 4 to exhibit in one view the combined mass of ignorance mathematically stated, upon which no impression has been made; a mass of illiteracy dense and thus far impenetrable to the first ray of morning.

TABLE No. 4.—*Illiteracy in the United States (census of 1880).*

States and Territories.	Total population.	Total population who can not read, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total population who can not read.	Total population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total population who can not write.	Total white population.	Total white population who can not write.	Percentage of total white population who can not write.	Total colored population.	Total colored population who can not write.	Percentage of total colored population who can not write.
Alabama.	1,262,505	370,279	29.33	603,447	34.33	662,185	111,767	16.88	600,320	321,690	53.53
Arizona.	40,440	5,496	13.59	5,842	14.45	35,160	4,824	13.72	5,280	1,018	10.28
Arkansas.	802,925	153,228	19.09	202,015	25.17	591,531	98,542	16.66	210,994	103,473	49.04
California.	864,694	48,533	5.62	53,450	6.18	781,181	26,086	3.40	97,513	27,340	28.04
Colorado.	194,327	9,321	4.80	10,474	5.33	191,265	9,066	5.35	3,101	1,068	35.74
Connecticut.	622,700	20,986	3.37	28,424	4.56	101,769	26,763	4.38	111,921	1,661	11.32
Dakota.	135,177	3,094	2.29	4,821	3.57	133,147	4,157	3.13	2,030	664	32.71
Delaware.	146,608	16,912	11.54	19,414	13.24	120,160	8,346	6.95	26,448	11,068	41.85
District of Columbia.	177,624	21,541	12.13	25,778	14.51	118,066	3,988	3.38	59,618	21,790	36.55
Florida.	209,493	26,066	12.60	80,183	29.75	124,605	19,763	15.36	70,382	60,420	47.62
Georgia.	1,541,459	416,302	26.96	526,000	34.75	816,466	125,992	15.57	725,274	391,482	53.98
Idaho.	32,610	1,284	4.24	1,778	5.45	30,013	7,842	2.70	7,842	7,842	100.00
Illinois.	3,077,871	96,809	3.15	145,397	4.72	3,031,151	133,426	4.37	46,720	12,971	27.76
Indiana.	1,978,301	70,008	3.54	110,761	5.60	1,938,798	100,308	5.18	89,503	26,117	26.23
Iowa.	1,624,615	28,117	1.73	46,609	2.87	1,614,608	44,337	2.75	10,015	2,272	22.69
Kansas.	996,096	25,503	2.56	39,476	3.98	952,155	24,888	2.61	43,941	14,588	33.20
Kentucky.	1,383,890	258,186	18.66	348,392	21.13	1,377,179	214,497	15.58	271,511	133,895	49.31
Louisiana.	932,494	297,412	31.37	318,332	33.57	454,954	121,561	27.00	482,992	133,429	53.49
Maine.	646,936	18,181	2.80	22,170	3.12	607,622	21,768	3.36	2,414	412	17.17
Maryland.	934,943	111,387	11.91	134,488	14.28	724,603	44,316	6.12	210,230	90,772	42.89
Massachusetts.	1,783,985	75,635	4.24	92,980	5.21	1,763,782	90,658	5.14	19,303	2,322	12.03
Michigan.	1,636,937	47,112	2.88	63,723	3.89	1,614,560	58,932	3.65	22,377	4,791	21.41
Minnesota.	780,773	20,651	2.63	34,546	4.42	776,884	33,506	4.31	3,889	1,040	26.74
Mississippi.	1,311,597	315,612	27.89	373,201	32.98	479,398	53,448	11.15	652,191	319,753	49.43
Missouri.	2,921,380	1,329,401	46.40	2,081,920	6.93	2,022,826	152,510	7.54	145,554	66,244	34.64
Montana.	20,159	1,520	7.41	1,797	9.57	19,500	1,578	8.11	1,074	2,411	21.21
Nebraska.	432,402	7,830	1.73	11,528	2.55	449,761	10,926	2.43	2,638	1,022	32.82
Nevada.	62,266	3,703	5.95	4,069	6.53	53,556	1,915	3.58	8,710	2,154	24.73
New Hampshire.	346,991	111,982	3.45	14,302	4.12	316,226	14,208	4.10	762	9	12.34
New Jersey.	1,131,116	39,136	3.46	53,249	4.71	1,092,017	44,049	4.03	39,099	9,200	23.53
New Mexico.	119,565	52,994	44.11	57,156	47.80	108,721	49,597	45.62	10,844	7,559	69.71
New York.	5,082,781	166,625	3.28	219,600	4.32	5,016,022	208,175	4.15	66,409	11,425	17.09
North Carolina.	1,151,750	367,799	32.05	406,675	35.35	1,130,426	120,224	11.21	527,508	235,776	51.07
Ohio.	818,062	86,754	2.71	131,847	4.12	3,177,920	115,491	3.70	80,142	16,336	20.41
Oregon.	174,768	5,376	3.08	7,423	4.25	163,075	4,343	2.66	11,603	3,080	26.34
Pennsylvania.	4,282,891	146,138	3.41	223,014	5.33	4,197,016	299,981	5.00	85,875	18,033	21.00
Rhode Island.	276,531	17,456	6.31	21,793	8.97	269,938	23,544	8.72	6,592	1,249	18.95
South Carolina.	995,777	32,780	32.32	369,848	37.15	391,103	59,777	15.28	604,472	310,071	51.39
Tennessee.	1,514,386	394,385	19.09	410,733	26.68	1,138,831	216,227	18.99	403,928	194,495	48.20
Texas.	1,521,149	250,784	16.10	312,620	19.38	1,193,777	152,027	13.75	394,528	192,820	48.40
Utah.	143,963	4,851	3.27	8,826	6.13	1,124,423	8,137	0.71	1,540	449	24.74
Vermont.	322,286	12,993	3.91	15,837	4.77	321,218	15,681	4.73	1,068	156	14.61
Virginia.	1,512,565	360,405	23.83	430,352	28.45	880,858	114,692	13.02	631,707	315,660	49.97
Washington.	75,116	3,191	4.25	3,889	5.18	67,199	1,429	2.13	7,917	4,600	31.07
West Virginia.	618,457	52,011	8.41	85,376	13.80	592,537	75,237	12.70	25,920	10,139	39.12
Wisconsin.	1,315,497	33,693	2.94	55,538	4.22	1,309,618	51,233	4.14	5,879	1,325	22.54
Wyoming.	20,789	427	2.65	566	2.67	19,437	374	1.92	1,352	182	13.46
Total.	50,155,783	4,023,451	9.82	6,239,958	12.44	43,402,970	3,019,080	6.96	*6,752,813	3,220,878	47.70

* Including Indians, Chinese, Japanese, &c.

The above table, prepared at the request of Hon. H. W. Blair, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, is respectfully submitted to the Superintendent of the Census, with the statement that while its figures are believed to be in most instances correct, they are entirely preliminary, and therefore subject to such changes as may result from the final revision.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE,

Special Agent Statistics of Education, Illiteracy, Libraries, Museums, and Religious Organizations.

The preceding table was prepared in the month of June, 1882. We use it now because of its greater convenience for comparison in some respects than the later tables in the Compendium of the Census.

Table No. 5, with some repetition of matter in previous tables, contains other data which are important and convenient for reference.

TABLE No. 5.—*Showing the total population, the school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, average pay of teachers, and length of school year in days in the several States and Territories as reported for the year 1880; prepared by the Commissioner of Education.*

States and Territories.	Total population.	School population.	Enrollment.	Average attendance.	Average pay of teachers.		Length of school year (in days).
					Male.	Female.	
Alabama.	1,262,505	388,003	179,490	117,978	4,615	\$120 (96)	80
Arkansas.	802,925	247,547	70,972	1,827	\$850 (50)	\$840 (00)	-----
California.	864,694	215,973	158,765	100,966	3,305	\$826	64,73
Colorado.	194,327	35,566	22,119	12,613	678	\$125 (80)	146.6
Connecticut.	622,700	140,475	119,415	e78,421	f3,141	\$145 (80)	375.02
Dakota.	146,498	43,492	39,823	1,004	630	\$30 (40)	242.79
Florida.	209,493	88,677	39,315	27,046	1,065	(\$40 (00))	-----
Georgia.	1,542,180	413,441	236,533	145,190	6,000	50 (00)	30 (00)
Illinois.	3,077,871	1,010,851	701,041	431,638	22,255	41,90	31 (80)
Indiana.	1,978,301	705,553	511,283	321,659	13,578	37 (20)	35 (20)
Iowa.	1,624,615	586,556	426,584	258,836	21,598	31 (26)	148
Kansas.	996,096	340,434	132,434	132,434	32,47	55 (28)	107
Kentucky.	1,383,890	545,161	205,581	f133,674	6,764	-----	75 (98)
Louisiana.	932,494	273,845	68,440	45,626	2,025	(27 (50))	118
Maine.	645,936	214,656	149,827	103,113	6,934	\$27 (9)	120
Maryland.	934,943	330,690	162,431	85,778	3,125	(\$1 (40))	177
Massachusetts.	1,783,985	307,321	306,777	233,127	8,595	67 (64)	30 (60)
Michigan.	1,636,937	506,221	362,658	f213,998	13,949	87 (28)	25 (73)

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TABLE No. 5.—Showing the total population, the school population, enrollment, average attendance, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.	Total population.	School population.	Enrollment.	Average attendance.	Average pay of teachers.		Length of school year (in days).	
					Male.	Female.		
Minnesota.....	780,773	6271,428	180,248	5/17,161	5,215	35 29	27 52	94
Mississippi.....	1,131,597	426,689	226,704	156,761	5,569	(30 05)	17,5	109
Missouri.....	2,168,389	723,484	476,376	5219,132	10,447	323 00	323 00	4100
Nebraska.....	452,402	142,341	92,545	50,156	4,100	36 12	31 92	109
Nevada.....	62,266	10,992	9,045	5,401	197	101 47	77 60	142 8
New Hampshire.....	31,910	771,122	61,436	43,460	3,446	34 22	23 23	105 8
New Jersey.....	1,131,116	338,683	201,961	115,194	4,745	55 32	32 32	192
New Mexico.....	5,082,871	1,641,173	1,061,593	573,059	36 730	(41 40)	179	179
North Carolina.....	1,899,750	450,324	225,606	147,802	4,130	(21 75)	54	54
Ohio.....	3,195,062	61,043,320	47,138	476,279	23,684	56 00	39 00	150
Oregon.....	274,768	59,615	37,538	27,235	1,314	44 19	33 38	89 6
Pennsylvania.....	4,282,891	61,370,000	937,310	601,627	21,375	32 36	28 42	147
Rhode Island.....	25,531	52,123	44,789	29,065	2,295	70 70	42 98	184
South Carolina.....	997,773	1,229,129	1,184,972	571,311	3,711	25 24	23 28	89 77
Tennessee.....	1,542,359	544,862	200,141	191,461	5,954	(26 66)	68	68
Texas.....	1,591,749	230,527	186,756	48,606	4,226	27 84	17 44	125
Vermont.....	332,296	92,833	75,238	44,226	4,226	17 17	17 17	17 17
Virginia.....	1,512,565	555,807	220,736	128,404	4,873	29 20	24 65	113
West Virginia.....	618,457	210,113	142,850	91,704	4,134	(28 19)	99	99
Wisconsin.....	1,315,497	483,229	299,258	197,510	10,115	g37 14	g24 91	162 5
Totals.....	49,371,340	15,351,875	9,680,403	5,744,188	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arizona.....	40,449	7,148	4,212	2,847	191	83 00	70 00	109
Dakota.....	135,177	12,030	8,042	3,170	286	20 70	21 90	88
District of Columbia.....	177,624	43,558	26,439	20,637	433	90 16	62 24	193
Idaho.....	30,370	6,758	6,758	6,758	171	85 00	85 00	109
Montana.....	39,159	7,070	3,770	2,506	161	71 84	56 41	96
New Mexico.....	119,563	629,312	615,151	.....	147	.....	.....	6132
Utah.....	143,963	40,672	24,326	17,178	517	635 00	622 00	128
Washington.....	75,116	242,233	142,032	69,585	560	641 14	633 34	d37 5
Wyoming.....	20,789	.....	62,090	d1,287	49	(d55 94)	.....	.....
INDIAN.								
Cherokees.....		5,413	3,048	1,845	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chickasaws.....		6250	426	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Choctaws.....		2,600	d1,400	d4921	d196	d50 00	d50 00	.....
Creeks.....		3,431	d800	d4582	.....	.....	.....	.....
Seminoles.....		6200	d170	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	784,443	175,457	101,118	61,154	.....	.....	.....	.....
Grand total.....	50,155,783	15,527,332	9,781,521	5,505,342	.....	.....	.....	.....

^a For white teachers. ^b In 1873. ^c In ungraded schools; in graded schools the average salary of men is \$101.73; of women, \$64.29. ^d In 1870. ^e For the winter. ^f Estimated. ^g Includes 58 colored teachers. ^h For white schools only. ⁱ In cities and towns organized as one district the average salary of men is \$98; of women, \$43. ^j Estimated by the bureau. ^k In the counties. ^l In graded schools the average salary of men was \$57; of women, \$40, in 1873. ^m Census of 1870. ⁿ Includes evening school reports. ^o In the counties; in the independent cities the average salary of males is \$37.44; of females, \$35.66. ^p Number necessary to supply the schools; actual number of schools, 155. ^q In 1875. ^r In 1877.

We draw a few deductions from these tables, but can not analyze them fully. They challenge profound and prolonged examination.

The average school population of the country is 15,351,875. Table No. 2 shows a school population of 15,303,553, of which 9,780,428 are enrolled in the public schools, 567,160 in private schools, with an average attendance in the public schools of 5,804,903. The average attendance in private schools is not known.

The column giving the different schoolages in different States and Territories is not the criterion of school population; it is based, indeed, on the number of the children, but it is not a good criterion. The average schoolage is more than 15,303,553. In Texas, for instance, the school period is from eight to fourteen years, and her total is only 230,527, while her population is 1,591,749. In Tennessee, where the school period is from six to twenty-one, a much preferable rule, and the whole population is 1,542,359, the school population 545,862 or two and one-third times that of Texas, although there can be no doubt that families are quite as numerous in the latter as in the former State. Besides this, and taking into account the increase in the school population from natural causes and from immigration, we believe it to be a low estimate which places the whole school population of the country at 18,000,000.

While we know of no reason to believe that the number of pupils who actually receive instruction has been essentially increased, expenditure certainly has not been increased to any great extent, while in some States since 1870 it has fallen off. The average of the expenditure of schools in the United States is \$1.00 per one-half millions are enrolled in public and private schools, and six millions is the average attendance, while seven and one-half millions, or five-twelfths of the whole are growing up in absolute ignorance of the English alphabet. This seems incredible, but these are the figures. They ought not to lie, for we have paid for accuracy and completeness. At this rate before another census we shall have to add to the school population of seven and one-half millions, or one-half a century ignorance and its consequences will be likely to have overtaken the Republic. We have reached the crisis of our fate. The education of the people is the most important issue before the country, and it must remain so for years to come.

Table No. 3 depicts and demonstrates a special source of danger of controlling importance. These eighty-six cities contain 8,300,681 inhabitants, or nearly one-sixth of the total population of the country. As a rule the school facilities are better in cities than in rural portions of the country, and these great centers of influence are supposed to more immediately influence the course of affairs. And as we are constantly pointing pitilessly at the unfortunate South, so we of the all-wise, all-purified North are continually pointing at the South. The condition of our cities, which are as great a source of danger as the ignorant rural population, is the reverse of that of the cities of the North. The number of pupils in private schools of the 15,303,553 in the country is only 567,160.

These cities contain an aggregate school population of 2,050,923, of whom 1,302,776, or three-fifths, are enrolled; that is, are more or less instructed during the school year, while only 855,533, or two-fifths, fully avail themselves of the advantages provided, and more than one-third never enter the school-room at all. Some of these may attend private schools, but not a large proportion, for the whole number of pupils in private schools of the 15,303,553 in the country is only 567,160.

The average attendance is about two-thirds of the enrollment, or one-third of the whole number who should attend.

In thirty-four of these cities from 50 to 82 per cent. of the children are not enrolled at all; in twenty-four, from 10 to 49 per cent. are not enrolled.

New York has a school population of 385,000, of whom 270,000 are enrolled, 114,000 are not enrolled at all, and the average attendance is but 12,000.

The average attendance in Cincinnati is 27,000, less than one-third the whole number, while 51,000 are not enrolled at all. It does not relieve this dark picture to say that these must be in private schools, for out of the school population of the entire State, numbering 1,043,320, only 28,650 are in private schools. Of these, perhaps 10,000 are in Cincinnati, and 18,650 in the rest of the State. Yet Cincinnati is one of the best of our great cities, and Ohio is a great State.

Chicago enrolls less than half—43 per cent.—of her children in the public schools; less than one-third are habitually in school.

Saint Louis has a school population of 106,000; 55,000 are enrolled; 36,000 is the average attendance.

Milwaukee has 38,000 children of school age; the average attendance is 11,000, or one-third, are not even enrolled.

Wilmingt., N. C., has an enrollment of 865, or 18 per cent., while 82 per cent. of the children of that city would appear to be habitually absent from school.

New Orleans has a school population of 57,000. The average attendance is 15,000, while 39,000 is the average absence. The whole State of Louisiana has but 4,400 pupils in private schools.

But we have been told that the record of the censuses ought to overwhelm us with shame and stimulate every power of the national intellect and command every dollar in the Treasury or within reach of the taxing power to provide a remedy equal to the terrible disease.

Table No. 4 exhibits in one mass the illiteracy of the United States. Five millions of our people over ten years of age can not read; six and one-fourth millions can not write. In the eight United States, including two territories, more than 13 per cent., and in eleven more than 22 per cent. are illiterate. In the United States and Territories more than 11 per cent. of the white population over ten years of age can not write, varying in these from 11 to 45 per cent. Illiteracy among the colored population varies from 13 to 70 per cent. The percentages of illiteracy among the whites vary in different subdivisions from less than 2 per cent. in Wyoming, where it is the least, to over 45 per cent. in New Mexico, where it is the greatest. An interesting feature of the table is the way it only demonstrates the greatest necessity everywhere, but that necessity is most prevalent in the West, where it is able to meet its requirements is least, making assistance from a central point difficult.

The nation is a whole. As such it must act; as such it is to be saved or lost. In this battle for the life of the whole line must be maintained and advanced. Re-enforcements must be sent to the weakest parts. Because they are the weakest is the reason that help is wanted. If they were strong, no re-enforcements would be needed. We do not claim that the battle is necessarily won, for the forces unless they fight. They must still be aroused to fight, for the work must be done. The evil is the same whether the battle be lost for one cause or for another. But in this struggle we believe there is as great danger to the future of the country from the Northern cities as from the Southern States.

In both help is imperatively needed, and it must be given where it is most needed and that immediately. The only reasonable test is, for the present at

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least, that of illiteracy and not of population. As a permanent rule, after conditions are once equalized, the latter will be the more just. But once thoroughly educated it is to be hoped that the several States will take care of themselves. To deny them aid in the present emergency is to do a general wrong. The negro has been born into a life of unadjusted conditions, for he has already broken lines to take care of themselves. Such a commander would find it difficult to excuse himself by saying that the articles of war required every soldier to do his duty or every division and corps to defeat the enemy. It is as a whole that battles are lost or won and that nations are lost or saved.

It may be conceded that every State and Territory should educate its children so far as it has the power, but when that fails, upon the same principle that individual citizens pay taxes for the common good according to their ability to pay,

and not their personal needs for protection, or the number of their children or dependents, must the whole people see to the provision of whatever funds are required for general education where otherwise taxation to any locality would become unduly oppressive.

ABILITY OF THE SEVERAL STATES TO BEAR TAXATION.

Table No. 6 exhibits the population and valuation of the States and Territories, with their totals in 1860, 1870, and 1880, also the per cent. of increase or decrease of valuation as between 1860 and 1880. The preparation of this table was for the purpose of comparing the capacity of different portions of the country to bear the burdens of taxation immediately before the war and at the present time.

TABLE No. 6.—*The population and the assessed valuation of personal property and real estate in the States and Territories in the United States, from census reports for 1860, 1870, and 1880.*

States and Territories.	1860.		1870.		1880.		*Increase per cent. 1860 to 1880	
	Population.	Assessed valuation.	Population.	Assessed valuation.	Population.	Assessed valuation.		
Alabama.....	964,201	\$432,198,762	996,626	\$135,582,505	1,222,505	\$122,967,228	31	
Alaska.....	.....	9,658	1,410,295	40,410	9,272,214	.....	-72
Arkansas.....	435,450	180,211,330	484,471	94,528,843	802,325	86,409,364	84	
California.....	379,994	139,654,667	560,247	269,641,668	864,694	584,578,038	128	
Colorado.....	34,277	.....	39,364	17,328,101	194,327	74,471,690	467
Connecticut.....	460,147	341,256,972	537,454	423,433,237	623,700	327,177,384	35	
Dakota.....	4,837	.....	14,181	2,924,189	335,177	20,321,530	2,695
Delaware.....	11,161	89,187,223	125,350	64,783,222	126,606	55,601,617	51	
District of Columbia.....	75,088	89,187,645	130,700	74,181,693	177,324	99,401,357	137	
Florida.....	140,424	68,929,685	187,748	32,480,843	263,493	30,988,308	92	
Georgia.....	1,057,286	618,232,387	1,184,109	227,219,519	1,542,180	239,472,509	46	
Idaho.....	.....	14,999	5,292,205	32,610	6,440,876	.....	-61
Illinois.....	1,711,951	389,207,372	2,539,891	482,869,375	3,077,871	786,616,394	80	
Indiana.....	1,350,428	411,042,124	1,680,637	663,455,044	1,973,304	727,815,131	46	
Iowa.....	61,000	10,000,000	1,024,300	30,200,000	1,101,177	35,000,000	14	
Kansas.....	167,296	22,518,332	39,300	92,125,332	666,066	160,391,589	829	
Kentucky.....	1,153,684	522,212,603	1,321,011	648,544,294	1,648,690	350,363,971	43	
Louisiana.....	708,002	435,787,265	726,915	233,371,890	939,916	160,162,439	33	
Maine.....	628,279	154,380,385	626,915	204,258,780	648,936	233,978,716	5	
Maryland.....	676,049	207,135,233	780,894	423,834,918	934,913	497,307,675	36	
Massachusetts.....	1,231,006	777,197,816	1,457,351	1,591,983,112	1,793,055	1,584,576,802	45	
Michigan.....	121,113	10,000,000	1,84,059	1,000,000	1,000,367	5,000,000	104	
Minnesota.....	174,023	22,318,332	64,155,322	78,000,000	174,023	250,000,000	111	
Mississippi.....	711,305	503,472,912	827,922	177,278,890	1,311,597	110,228,129	43	
Missouri.....	1,182,012	266,935,851	1,721,255	556,199,969	1,628,380	532,755,801	83	
Montana.....	.....	20,555	9,414,411	39,150	18,609,802	.....	-53
Nebraska.....	28,841	7,426,949	122,993	54,584,615	456,402	99,575,782	1,469	
Nevada.....	6,857	.....	42,491	270,470,973	62,296	29,291,459	88
New Hampshire.....	63,673	.....	318,900	149,565,000	340,600	100,000,000	5
New Jersey.....	572,000	296,682,402	906,092	628,807,971	1,121,116	572,518,341	33	
New Mexico.....	93,516	20,838,780	91,874	17,784,014	119,565	11,363,406	28	
New York.....	3,880,735	1,390,461,638	4,382,759	1,957,001,185	5,082,871	2,651,940,006	31	
North Carolina.....	992,662	292,297,600	1,071,361	130,378,625	1,399,750	156,100,202	41	
Ohio.....	52,465	19,024,915	95,867,101	2,665,260	1,167,731,697	1,198,062	1,534,360,508	37
Oregon.....	2,015,191	1,000,000	31,798,510	1,74,768	52,322,084	231	176	
Pennsylvania.....	1,74,620	121,104,305	3,581,200	1,313,365,042	4,200,000	1,116,016	47	
Rhode Island.....	703,708	480,129,128	705,606	183,913,337	995,577	133,360,135	31	
South Carolina.....	1,109,780	382,495,200	1,258,520	1,782,161	1,542,259	276,531,229	35	
Tennessee.....	601,215	267,792,325	818,579	149,732,020	1,591,749	320,364,515	16	
Texas.....	40,273	41,158,020	86,786	12,565,842	143,063	86,906,775	5	
Vermont.....	815,698	84,758,619	330,551	102,548,525	332,260	1,514,360,000	132	
Virginia.....	1,596,518	657,021,338	1,228,000	36,730,000	1,514,000	40,000,000	31	
Washington.....	111,984	4,394,755	22,958	10,642,863	15,116	23,310,684	518	
West Virginia.....	775,881	183,345,489	424,014	140,558,273	618,457	139,622,765	70	
Wisconsin.....	.....	1,054,720	323,209,838	313,495,477	439,971,751	70	136
Wyoming.....	.....	9,118	5,516,748	20,789	18,621,829	.....	-50
Total.....	31,443,321	12,084,560,005	38,558,371	14,178,986,732	50,155,783	16,902,755,893	260	
							24	

* Per cents preceded by the minus sign indicate a decrease.

† In Pennsylvania occupations are also valued for assessment. This valuation for 1880 was \$68,659,580.

‡ Virginia and West Virginia are taken together, as West Virginia belonged to Virginia in 1860.

§ Average for the United States.

In this connection it is proper to observe that in the rebel States, where slavery existed in 1860, the valuation then aggregated \$2,289,029,612, of which \$842,927,409 was in slaves, and proper allowance must be made for this fact in estimating present taxable power. The negroes are now free, and their education would be productive of property. Now they require to be educated; then education would have destroyed them as property. They are now doing little more as a totality than to support themselves. Their taxable property is thus for very slight. It has been stated as a matter of pride on this floor that in Georgia colored people are taxed for \$6,000,000 of property. The assessed valuation of Georgia is by the last census \$23,472,559. What then, must be the general poverty of the colored people of Georgia, when we hear that in 1860, which is 13 years ago, Georgia had a total of \$6,000,000 of taxable property. And if these things be so in Georgia, what must be the destination of the colored race elsewhere throughout the South, and how idle to talk of their educating themselves.

During these twenty years population has increased in every State and Territory. With the exception of New Hampshire, where the increase is 6, and Vermont, where it is 5, and in Maine, where the increase is 3 per cent., nowhere has it been less than 10 per cent. and in Mississippi, where it is enormous, the South has more than held her own with the older States, and the negro, despite every thing, has raised his numbers to almost 7,000,000. They are a permanent factor in the destiny of America. They are here to stay.

While the population of the whole country has increased 60 per cent., the valuation has risen but 40 per cent. In Alabama the valuation is 72 per cent. less than in 1860, where it is 59 per cent. greater. In Arkansas population has nearly doubled, while assessed valuation has fallen off more than one-half. This is true of Florida. In Mississippi population has increased nearly one-half and wealth has decreased more than three-fourths, and generally throughout the South the same tendency is apparent.

As explained above, the negro is not now a tax-paying element to the extent he was before the war. He lived there and was a source of profit to his master. Now he lives and multiplies, but both he and his master seem to be growing thus far poor together.

We speak now of the general fact, and believe that this state of things is but temporary. It will, however, become permanent unless the proper remedy of increased intelligence and well-directed industry is applied. And to this end the colored race must be brought into the market for labor, not excepting the States. In Kentucky and Delaware the negro child is educated only from the taxation of his own race. As a rule he can have no school at all unless from charity. Table No. 6 indicates that on the whole national resources of taxation are not keeping pace in development with our population, and demonstrates the absolute helplessness of many States alone to deal with their illiteracy.

TABLE No. 7.—*Amount raised by taxation for support of public schools in each State and Territory during the year 1880.*

[Prepared by Bureau of Education, at request of H. W. Blair.]

States and Territories.	From State tax.	From local tax.	Total.
Alabama.....	\$136,000	6,120,000	\$250,000
Arkansas.....	611,605	77,475	189,080
California.....	1,318,209	1,393,572	2,711,781
Colorado.....	.....	636,333	636,333
Connecticut.....	210,353	1,066,314	1,276,667
Delaware.....	.....	615,015	615,015
Florida.....	(104,530)	140,530	140,530
Georgia.....	435,750	123,239	471,029
Illinois.....	1,000,000	5,733,478	6,733,478
Indiana.....	1,456,834	16,302	1,625,136
Iowa.....	4,227,300	4,227,300
Kansas.....	635,354	9,768,038	1,276,786
Kentucky.....	917,352	917,352

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TABLE No. 7.—*Amount raised by taxation for support, &c.—Continued.*

States and Territories.	From State tax.	From local tax.	Total.
Louisiana.....	\$350,060	6,994,000	\$8450,000
Maine.....	224,565	596,295	820,860
Maryland.....	491,406	721,751	1,212,977
Massachusetts.....	4,372,286	4,372,286	8,744,572
Michigan.....	2,074,073	2,453,831	4,527,904
Minnesota.....	257,089	1,076,337	1,333,426
Mississippi.....	334,769	324,769	659,538
Missouri.....	2,163,330	2,163,330	4,326,660
Nebraska.....	73,808	713,155	786,963
Nevada.....			
New Hampshire.....			
New Jersey.....	1,011,785	721,413	1,742,198
North Carolina.....	2,750,000	6,925,952	9,675,952
Ohio.....	(314,719)	5,155,279	5,155,279
Oregon.....	1,555,207	6,714,086	8,269,293
Pennsylvania.....	133,477	79,562	213,039
Rhode Island.....		7,046,116	7,046,116
South Carolina.....	80,800	414,852	495,652
Tennessee.....		440,110	440,110
Texas.....	6,075,603	6,678,603	12,754,206
Vermont.....	113,173	304,318	417,491
Virginia.....	596,516	665,459	1,261,975
West Virginia.....	212,753	490,432	703,185
Wisconsin.....	223,000	2,193,581	2,223,581
Arizona.....			167,028
Dakota.....	123,643	123,643	247,286
District of Columbia.....	474,556	474,556	

Comparative statistics of education at the South.

	White.		Colored.		Total expenditure for both races, a
	School population.	Enrollment.	School population.	Enrollment.	
Alabama.....	217,590	107,483	49	170,413	72,007
Arkansas.....	6181,799	553,229	49	554,332	42
Delaware.....	31,500	25,053	39	3,954	238,056
Florida.....	616,410	618,871	41	612,099	270,281
Georgia.....	622,610	150,134	61	617,125	114,895
Kentucky.....	416,507	257,079	50	69,674	471,029
Louisiana.....	139,661	444,655	32	613,184	363,593
Maryland.....	213,669	134,210	63	763,591	320,320
Mississippi.....	175,251	112,994	64	251,438	1,544,367
Missouri.....	651,991	454,218	67	41,489	800,704
North Carolina.....	291,770	136,481	47	167,554	3,152,178
South Carolina.....	678,113	61,219	73	614,215	352,882
Tennessee.....	403,335	292,260	57	147,179	524,629
Texas.....	1,711,426	138,912	61	612,015	724,892
Virginia.....	314,827	152,136	48	240,980	753,346
West Virginia.....	202,364	138,779	68	7,749	546,109
District of Columbia.....	29,612	16,934	57	13,946	716,864
Total.....	3,889,961	2,215,674	.....	1,803,257	784,709
					12,475,044

a In Delaware the colored public schools have been supported by the school-tax collected from colored citizens only; recently, however, they have received an appropriation of \$2,400 from the State; in Kentucky the school-tax collected from colored citizens is the only State appropriation for the support of colored schools; in Maryland there is a biennial appropriation by the Legislature; in the District of Columbia one-third of the school money is set apart for the colored public schools, and in the other States mentioned above the school moneys are divided in proportion to the school population without regard to race. b Several counties failed to make race distinctions. c Estimated. d In 1879. e For whites the school age is six to twenty, for colored six to sixteen. f Census of 1870. g In 1877. h These numbers include some duplicates; the actual population is 230,327.

1 Excluding the States of Maryland and Missouri and the District of Columbia, and the total yearly expenditure for both races is only \$7,339,932, while in the whole country the annual expenditure is, from taxation, \$70,341,435, and from school funds \$6,380,632, or a total of \$76,922,067 (see Tables 2 and 7), or one-tenth of the whole. The colored public schools are less than one-fifth of the school population. The causes which have produced this state of things in the South are not far from the truth, but the facts themselves as they now exist. To find a remedy and to apply it is the only duty which devolves upon us. Without universal education, not only will the late war be a failure, but the abolition of slavery be proved to be a tremendous disaster, if not a crime.

The country was held together by the strong and bloody embrace of war, but the country will not be able to resume the integrity of its territory and of its laws by the expenditure of \$7,339,932, if it can be done. The section of seven millions of men by the statutes of the States is to be constituted the thrall of ignorance and the tyranny of an irresponsible suffrage. Secession and a confederacy founded upon slavery as its chief corner-stone would be better than the future of the Southern States—better for both races, too—if the nation were one-third, and that the fairest portion, of its domain to become the spawning ground of infamy, anarchy, and of every crime. The nation, as such, abolished slavery as a legal institution, but ignorant slavery, and no matter what is written in your constitutions and your laws, slavery will continue until intelligence, hand-maid of liberty, shall have illuminated the whole land with the light of her smile.

Before the war the Southern States were aristocracies, highly educated, and distinguished in science and letters. Hence, they preserved order and flourished at home, while they imposed their yoke upon the negroes. Now all is changed. The suffrage is universal, and that means universal intelligence, the capacity to use it intelligently is created by universal education. Until the republican constitutions, framed in accordance with the Congressional reconstruction which supplanted the governments initiated by President Johnson, common school systems, like universal suffrage, were unknown. Hence, in a special

TABLE No. 7.—*Amount raised by taxation for support, &c.—Continued.*

States and Territories.	From State tax.	From local tax.	Total.
Idaho.....			\$48,017
Indian Territory.....			5,256
Montana.....			69,899
New Mexico.....			
Utah.....	63,041	43,337	106,378
Washington.....	f 102,201	f 165,520	f 267,721
Wyoming.....		f 7,056	f 7,056
Total.....			
		(419,249)	
		14,287,570	53,913,986
			170,731,435

a From poll tax. b State apportionment, which here probably includes the income of the State school fund for 1880, the State tax, and so much of the ordinary State revenue as may be set apart for the purpose by the Legislature. c Total collected from direct taxes, fines, &c. d This sum is raised for white schools. e This includes the State railroad (\$150,000) and \$100,000 in 1879. f Includes tax on billiards and dogs. g Estimated. h From town tax. i From county tax. j Includes income from permanent fund. k State appropriation. l Total income as reported for 1880, the greater part of which comes from Territorial, county, and district taxes. m From county tax. n Includes \$1,750,630 not appearing in the first two columns. o Special for building purposes.

THE SOUTH.

The Southern States, seventeen in number, including the District of Columbia, are usually classed together as a section of the country requiring special help. Of all but Maryland, Missouri, and the District of Columbia this is true. The following table exhibits their condition:

	White.			
School population.	Enrollment.	School population.	Enrollment.	Percentage of school population untaught.
Alabama.....	217,590	107,483	49	170,413
Arkansas.....	6181,799	553,229	49	554,332
Delaware.....	31,500	25,053	39	3,954
Florida.....	616,410	618,871	41	612,099
Georgia.....	622,610	150,134	61	617,125
Kentucky.....	416,507	257,079	50	69,674
Louisiana.....	139,661	444,655	32	613,184
Maryland.....	213,669	134,210	63	763,591
Mississippi.....	175,251	112,994	64	251,438
Missouri.....	651,991	454,218	67	41,489
North Carolina.....	291,770	136,481	47	167,554
South Carolina.....	678,113	61,219	73	614,215
Tennessee.....	403,335	292,260	57	147,179
Texas.....	1,711,426	138,912	61	612,015
Virginia.....	314,827	152,136	48	240,980
West Virginia.....	202,364	138,779	68	7,749
District of Columbia.....	29,612	16,934	57	13,946
Total.....	3,889,961	2,215,674	.....	1,803,257
				784,709
				12,475,044

2 manner, the nation is responsible for the existence and support of those systems as well as for the order of things which made them necessary. That remarkable progress has been made under their influence is true, and that the common school is fast becoming as dear to the masses of the people at the South as elsewhere is also evident.

The nation through the Freedmen's Bureau, and perhaps to a limited extent in other ways, has expended \$5,000,000 for the education of the colored refugees in the earlier days of reconstruction, while religious charities have founded many special schools which have thus far cost some ten millions more. The Peabody fund has distilled the dews of heaven all over the South; but heavy rains are needed; without them every green thing must wither away.

This work belongs to the nation. It is a part of the war. We have the Southern people as patriotic allies now. We are one; so shall we be forever. But both North and South have a fiercer and more doubtful fight with the forces of ignorance than they waged with each other during the bloody years which chastened the opening life of this generation.

MEASURES PROPOSED.

We think it is clear that the nation has the power, which implies the duty of its provision when necessary, to educate the children who are to become its citizens; and that the time has now arrived when the present time has been demonstrated. We desire to offer a few suggestions in regard to the methods which are, in our judgment, proper to be pursued by the General Government in the present emergency.

Your Committee upon Education and Labor has reported this bill making provision for temporary aid to the common schools of the country, and this we desire to introduce immediately.

There is another measure which has been pending for several years, proposing the creation of a perpetual fund, to be composed of the accretions to the Treasury from annual sales of public lands, railroad revenues, and other sources, the interest of which shall be distributed to the States, at first upon the basis of

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illiteracy, afterward according to population; one-third to be appropriated to the support of the agricultural colleges, and the remainder of such interest to the common schools. This sum would be small at first, but would rapidly increase, and such a fund would in time become a mighty agency for good, a perpetual fountain of blessing, and a bond of union so long as the country shall endure. The compensation is sublime, and every effort should be made to secure the enactment of this measure into law during the present session; certainly during this Congress.

It is proposed to surrender the management of the income from this fund to the States, subject to forfeiture of subsequent installments in case of abuse or maladministration. The provisions of this bill have been the subject of much careful study by wise men for many years, and it is not probable that any change will be necessary in the operation of the proposed perpetual fund, certainly not until the light of experience shall have been turned upon its practical operation, when further legislation can be had if necessary. We believe it to be wise to pass the bill as it is, and at once. Favorable action will soon be taken on this bill by your committee.

TEMPORARY AID.

But for immediate use more money must be provided. Temporarily, many millions from the national Treasury are imperatively demanded by every consideration of the national honor and of the public welfare. A generation is educated in the common schools (if at all) every five years. If the next two generations of children could be educated properly, the country would be in a position to meet the expense of its schools, and the community once enlightened will never permit itself to retrograde. Intelligent self-interest will support the schools in self-defense, end, once elevated to the proper standard, every locality will maintain itself without much, if any, extraneous aid being required. Besides, if we could bridge the chasm of the next ten years, the proposed fund to be accumulated from the public lands and other sources would have become important, and would furnish the assistance which might thereafter be demanded.

Whatever is done by the nation now should be directed where it will do the most good. Illiteracy is the disease, and the remedy must be given accordingly. Until the standard of knowledge is brought up to a reasonable level everywhere, implying capacity to discharge the duties of sovereignty and citizenship, the nation must, or at least should, in common prudence, distribute its money upon the basis of comparative ignorance.

The temporary aid, however intelligent, is as the illiterate State herself. Such is the complication and interdependence of our political and even of our industrial affairs that all great national issues and questions of policy are really decided by the small majorities which are liable to be found in any State. The interests of Massachusetts, so far as they are affected by national relations, are likely to be decided by the small majorities of California and by its own. She has no interest, then, save that the money taken from the Treasury in support of education should go where there is the greatest need of schools. Thus the money for distribution according to either wealth or population fails.

As to the amount which is necessary, great diversity of opinion prevails among those who desire the extension of aid by the Government. The bill introduced by the honorable Senator from Illinois (Mr. LOGAN) proposes to set apart of the tax on imports, \$1,000,000 for the support of schools, to be apportioned to the States according to population. The House committee has reported a bill appropriating ten millions, diminishing one million yearly for ten years next ensuing, to be distributed to the States according to illiteracy.

The bill or report appropriates fifteen millions of dollars the first year, fourteen millions the second year, and afterward a sum diminishing one million yearly, until there shall have been ten annual distributions, the last of which would be six millions. This bill, however, is not the only one proposed by that committee; there is, or there will be, another bill which provides for the payment of the amount to the States, or that from the perpetual-fund bank, that should, fortunately become a law, all the aid necessary could thereafter be derived. We believe that to give a larger sum would induce the people of the States where most of it would be expended to depend too largely upon the national Treasury for the support of their schools, and the result would be waste and inefficiency.

The community must pay to the extent of its ability, or it will lose interest in its schools, and will be liable to the charge of being a dead weight to the nation. The burden must be received, the burden of raising which the people do not feel. Besides, it will be difficult for those portions of the country which are comparatively unused to the practical administration of school systems at once economically and profitably to absorb the full amount which is really needed, and which will be required at greater accommodations, competent teachers in sufficient numbers, and larger attendance of pupils are assured. The proportion of poor children is greater in the West than in the East, and they are in their existing schools for at least three months, with present accommodations, and teachers, and in addition would secure the extension of the school system to such districts and children as are now absolutely without the pale of any educational privileges whatever. We believe no less sum can possibly do this.

The following table exhibits the distribution of \$15,000,000 as proposed in this measure:

States and Territories.	Illiterates in each State.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 to each State.
Alabama.....	370,279	\$1,127,869 53
Arizona.....	5,496	16,710 82
Arkansas.....	153,229	466,735 53
California.....	48,583	147,983 82
Colorado.....	9,321	28,373 77
Connecticut.....	20,986	63,933 36
Delaware.....	3,661	9,984 32
Delaware.....	1,612	51,514 37
District of Columbia.....	21,541	65,612 89
Florida.....	70,219	213,887 07
Georgia.....	466,683	1,360,596 42
Idaho.....	1,341	4,215 66
Illinois.....	96,809	294,880 21
Indiana.....	10,618	31,856 07
Iowa.....	29,117	85,644 34
Kansas.....	25,503	77,682 14
Kentucky.....	258,186	786,434 56
Louisiana.....	297,312	905,612 35
Maine.....	18,181	55,379 33
Maryland.....	111,347	339,251 80
Massachusetts.....	6,635	20,901 67
Michigan.....	47,112	143,931 15
Minnesota.....	20,551	62,598 35
Mississippi.....	315,612	961,351 15
Missouri.....	135,818	423,839 63
Montana.....	1,530	\$1,660 38
Nebraska.....	7,839	23,880 18
Nevada.....	3,636	11,221 34
New Hampshire.....	11,982	\$6,497 17

States and Territories.	Illiterates in each State.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 to each State.
New Jersey.....	39,136	\$119,398 26
New Mexico.....	52,414	161,419 72
New York.....	107,605	567,593 75
North Carolina.....	367,890	1,120,692 94
Ohio.....	86,754	264,232 68
Oregon.....	5,376	16,375 30
Pennsylvania.....	116,138	445,131 35
Rhode Island.....	321,780	930,241 88
South Carolina.....	30,491	1,021,296 71
Tennessee.....	256,223	780,455 28
Texas.....	4,851	14,776 15
Utah.....	12,993	39,576 68
Vermont.....	3,191	9,719 79
Washington.....	52,041	153,516 90
West Virginia.....	35,693	117,838 82
Wisconsin.....	427	1,300 64
Total	4,923,451	15,000,000 00

The bill contemplates the gradual increase of ability and of opportunity to support their own schools, as the natural consequence of greater intelligence in all cases, so that the appropriation and its necessity will pass away together.

In the bill reported by your committee provision is made for the disposition of the share of those States which may not desire its general distribution, when, by reason of the inefficiency of their schools, national aid is not required; for the establishment of schools in the remote and sparsely settled parts of the country, having failure in the race of life, so far as a common school education can give it; for the more efficient training of youth in the Territories, in some of which the condition is most deplorable, involving direct and most serious responsibility of the National Government, which is bound to properly care for these future States, comprising one-third of our entire domain.

These features will require more minute examination in future discussions.

Whatever is done by the nation now should be directed where it will do the most good. Illiteracy is the disease, and the remedy must be given accordingly. Until the standard of knowledge is brought up to a reasonable level everywhere, implying capacity to discharge the duties of sovereignty and citizenship, the nation must, or at least should, in common prudence, distribute its money upon the basis of comparative ignorance.

The bill reported by your committee provides for \$300,000 Indians, for rivers and harbors, for improvements of the banks of the Mississippi River, for a navy which it is clearly making necessary, for a Navy which is safe only in the docks, the millions paid for pensions annually, paid because there was a lack of common schools in our country such as this bill seeks to build up, and the general profuseness of expenditure which applies to the management of our affairs, are a sufficient exposure of the hollow pretense that we can not spare a few millions yearly to rescue our Indians from their present condition, which threatens the very existence of our country.

Taxation is almost wholly based upon our luxuries and our vices, which threatens the very existence of our country.

It is proposed to give them still further license by reducing taxes while we are not prepared for the want of schools. We consume every year seven hundred millions of alcoholic beverages.

The interest on the money paid in one year for alcohol and tobacco by the American people, if judiciously invested, would relieve them from all taxation for the support of common schools hereafter at present rate of expenditure. We are bound in self-interest to do this. We are bound in self-defense, even to the point of war. But perhaps the best way to the salvation of the Republic is to postpone the remedy, but the evil will increase.

We may postpone the remedy, but the evil will increase. The issue can not be evaded. Common-school education must become universal or the form of our Government must be changed. We believe that the next few years will decide the question.

National aid to schools is indispensable to the national existence; national aid to common schools should be given liberally, given now, and applied where most needed.

This done, the Republic will be perpetual.

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY W. BLAIR,
Tuesday, March 18, 1881,

On the bill (S. 398) to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, this is, in my judgment, among the most important public measures which have been considered by the Senate since the close of the war. It is, in fact, the logical consequence and true conclusion of the war. Had common schools been universal throughout the country there would have been no civil war; for intelligence among the masses of the people would have abolished the causes which led to it, and the chains of the bondsmen would have dissolved like the mists of the morning in its warmth and light, instead of awaiting to be broken by the terrible hammer of Thor. Knowledge and virtue are the indispensable conditions of free government, and virtue without intelligence is of no avail, for while virtue is the natural if not universal fruit of knowledge, yet good intentions without knowledge are by a profound philosophy pronounced to be the very pavement of hell. So the restoration of the Union and the reconstruction of States with governments republican in form will be found to be but a bitter delusion unless the people throughout the whole country shall be made and kept sufficiently intelligent to know and to maintain their rights generation after generation.

As the National Government is republican in form, so its own existence depends upon the same conditions as the existence of the States; consequently in self-defense and in self-perpetuation it must secure directly by its own act or indirectly through other agencies the intelligence of its citizens, who are themselves the Government.

Beyond this, one of the most important constitutional functions of the General Government is its obligation to guarantee a republican form to the States.

If the General Government commits suicide by neglecting the education of the people, how can it fulfill its constitutional guarantee? And how can that guarantee of government republican in form be made and kept good to the people of a State who are too ignorant to be capable of self-government.

Self-existence and the discharge of its constitutional obligations compel the National Government to educate the people, who are the common citizens of both the nation and the State, whenever the local community fails to discharge this primary duty of a free people.

Mindful of the time of the Senate, and having in the last Congress discussed this subject at some length, and having embodied somewhat of that discussion in the report of the committee on this bill, I shall confine myself on this occasion, unless the course of the debate shall hereafter render it necessary to do otherwise, to a statement of the facts in the existing situation of the country, which, in my opinion, require the appropriation of large sums of money by the nation to the temporary aid of common schools throughout the country, and to the explanation of the provisions of this bill, which undertakes to provide a suitable remedy for the alarming and increasing ignorance existing among the people at the present time.

First, then, of the evil.

The bill proposes to give temporary aid to common schools in all the States and Territories.

Common schools are the means everywhere adopted to educate the masses of the people, and the instruction and discipline obtained in them constitute all the preparatory school training which twenty-four twenty-fifths of the American people receive for the practical duties of public and private life. I say public life with no reference to the incumbency of political office. By the public life of an American citizen I refer to his life as a sovereign; to his constant participation in the active government of his country; to the continual study and decision of political issues which devolve upon him whatever may be his occupation; and to his responsibility for the conduct of national and State affairs as the primary law-making, law-construing, and law-executing power, no matter whether or not he is personally engaged in the public service as policeman or President, as any State official whatever, member of Congress, Chief-Judge of the United States, or a humble justice of the peace. In republics official stations are servitudes. The citizen is king.

But, since knowledge is power, it is obvious that the degree of education which the citizen must acquire is commensurate with the character and dignity of the station which he occupies by the theory of the government of which he is a part. By so much and so far as he is deficient he will fail, and either become a nonentity or a source of danger and misrule. The indispensable standard of education for the people of a republic, then, is far above the mere capacity to read and to write the language in common use in a limited or perfunctory way. The education obtained in the common school and imparted, if necessary, with compulsion by the State should be such as to enable the citizen sovereign to obtain and interchange ideas and knowledge of affairs as well as to transact intelligently and safely all matters of business in the avocations of life. Measured by this not too exacting standard, the degree of disqualification for the duties and opportunities of citizenship actually existing is far greater than is indicated by the common standard, which is considered to be the nominal capacity to read and write. This test is the one resorted to in taking the census as a test to measure the intelligence of the people; and its use for this purpose by the Government and its adoption as the condition of the exercise of the suffrage by some States have served to fix in the public mind a very low standard of education compared with that which should be set up in the common school. I am heartily in favor of universal suffrage, for a partially ignorant people, with a free ballot actually secured to them, will govern themselves better than they will be governed by kings and aristocracies.

But I desire to remind the American people that the more they know the greater will be their personal power and the better they will govern themselves.

If the American people suffer from innumerable and bitter ills which they can never remove until they know how it may be done, their first great step is so far to educate themselves as to obtain the knowledge from which will result the power to remove the evils of their civil, social, and industrial condition. It is therefore, at once apparent that tabulated statements, such as we obtain from the census and like statistical processes fall far short of completeness as indications of the actual educational condition of the people. It is certain that the school facilities which have hitherto existed have been woefully insufficient, since more than one-ninth of the adult citizens of the country are unable even to read and write. What unknown margin of ignorance lies above this indication and yet below the true standard of competency and educational qualification for the duties of citizenship we are left without definite means of judging, but we know that it is very great. This dark belt of indefinite width which, like an unsurveyed desert, lies beyond the well-defined boundaries of ignorance and incompetency should be constantly borne in mind as we proceed with the consideration of the subject.

During the decade from 1870 to 1880 the population of the United States increased from thirty-eight to fifty millions. A like percentage of increase since 1880, a period of four years, would give a present population of about 56,000,000 of people.

By the census of 1880 there were in the United States 36,761,607 persons 10 years of age and upward.

In round numbers now there are 41,000,000. In 1880 there were, over 10 years of age, who could not read, 4,923,451 persons, or 13.4 persons in a hundred, and now there are 5,500,000. In 1880 there were 6,239,958 persons over 10 years of age who could not write, or 17 persons in a hundred. Now there are 7,000,000 who can not write.

In 1880 there were 32,160,400 white persons in the United States, of whom 3,190,080 or 9.4 per cent., could not write. Now there are 3,500,000 white persons in this country who can not write.

In 1880 there were, of colored persons in the United States, 4,601,207 10 years old and upward, of whom 3,220,878, or 70 persons of every hundred, could not write. Now there are 3,600,000 colored persons in the United States over 10 years of age who can not write.

In 1880 there were white persons, over 21 years of age, 21,984,202; persons of whom 2,056,463, or 9.4 of every hundred, could not write. Now there are 2,313,521 white persons in the United States who can not write.

In 1880 there were 11,343,005 white males over 21, of whom 886,659, or 7.8 per cent., could not write. Now there are 1,000,000 white adults who can not write.

In 1880 there were 2,937,235 colored persons in the United States over 21 years of age, of whom 2,147,900 could not write, or 73.1 per cent. of every one hundred. There are now probably, 3,500,000, as the colored population increases by births 7 per cent. faster than does the white from births and immigration.

In 1880 there were colored males over 20 years of age, 1,487,344, of whom 1,022,151 could not write, or 68.7 per cent. Now there are 1,150,000 or more, all voters.

In 1880 there were white and colored male persons over 21 years of age, 12,530,349; of whom could not write 1,908,810. Now there are males over 21, 14,500,000, of whom 2,150,000 can not write. These include the voting population. Unnaturalized persons over 21 should be deducted. The average of immigration is now, however, as intelligent as our own population. That is a thought not familiar to our national contemplation. One voter in seven can not write. The percentage of illiteracy is something less among males than among the other sex, or there would be one voter in five unable to write. Of those who can write a large number can only, with great painstaking, contrive even to write their names. It is greatly to be doubted whether more than three-fourths of the voting population is capable of reading or writing with such facility as to make those arts a source of intelligent suffrage.

Nearly three-fourths of the illiterate voters of the country are in the sixteen Southern States. The same States contain about one-third the entire population. Iowa has 18,886 voters who can not write in a population of 1,624,615. Georgia has 169,505 voters who can not write, and a total population of 1,542,180—nearly ninefold illiterate suffrage in about the same population. In proportion to population, notwithstanding the great cities within her borders, New York has only one voter who can not write to five in South Carolina.

I take the following from the very able report made in the last Congress by the House Committee on Education and Labor:

The last census shows that there are 6,239,958 people of this country above the age of 10 years who can not write—12.44 per cent., or about one-eighth of our entire population. The census further shows that 4,715,395, or 75.56 per cent. of them are in the recent slave States, which contain but 36.8 per cent. of the population of the country. In six of these States one-third or more of the population above the age of 10 years are illiterate, while in the Territory of New Mexico nearly one-half can not write. Of the white population of the country only 6.96 per cent. can not write, while 47.7 per cent. of the colored population are illiterate. More than one-fourth of the entire population of those States is illiterate.*

The committee call attention to the illiteracy of the voters in the late slaveholding States. The following table has been furnished the committee by the Superintendent of the Census. It shows the total number of persons 21 years of age and upward, and also the number of that age and upward who are illiterate. [Table, see next page.]

The following table, showing the ratio of illiterate males of 21 years of age and upward to the whole number of males of the same ages in the States named, is derived by the committee from the preceding table. There being but few foreigners in those States, nearly all of those persons are citizens of the United States and voters:

	Ratio of illiterate males 21 years of age and upward.
Alabama.....	46.7
Arkansas.....	30.4
Delaware.....	17.6
Florida.....	38.6
Georgia.....	45.1
Idaho.....	6.0
Louisiana.....	47.4
Maryland.....	19.4
Mississippi.....	46.7
North Carolina.....	42.3
South Carolina.....	51.9
Tennessee.....	31.9
West Virginia.....	13.3
Missouri.....	16.4
Texas.....	11.0

The average ratio of illiterate males of the ages named in the above States is 22.3.

*The ability to write is considered by statisticians the true test of illiteracy, as many persons through shame will not admit they cannot read, but are not so likely to claim that they can write. Besides, a person who can read and not write is essentially an illiterate.

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Number of illiterates.

States.	Total number of males of 21 years of age and upward.	Number of males of 21 years of age and upward who can not write.		
		White.	Colored.	Total.
Alabama.....	250,884	24,450	96,408	120,588
Arkansas.....	182,977	21,349	31,300	55,619
Delaware.....	38,298	2,955	3,787	6,742
Florida.....	61,699	4,706	19,110	23,816
Georgia.....	321,438	28,571	116,516	145,087
Kentucky.....	376,287	54,956	43,177	98,133
Louisiana.....	216,787	16,377	86,555	102,932
Maryland.....	232,976	15,152	39,873	46,025
Mississippi.....	228,532	12,977	99,133	114,541
Missouri.....	541,297	40,655	19,028	55,683
North Carolina.....	294,740	44,429	80,282	124,702
South Carolina.....	205,789	13,924	93,010	106,934
Tennessee.....	330,305	46,948	58,601	105,549
Texas.....	384,476	33,085	59,669	92,754
Virginia.....	334,565	31,474	100,210	131,681
West Virginia.....	130,161	19,035	3,830	22,885
Total.....	4,154,125	410,550	914,424	1,354,974

Of the above illiterates 69.7 per cent. are colored, and 30.3 per cent. are whites. In ten of the above-named States more than 30 per cent. of the voters are illiterate.

In six of them the illiterates are about 50 per cent.

In South Carolina 52 per cent. are illiterate.

The State of Alabama has 120,858 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 151,507.

The State of Georgia has 143,087 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 155,651.

The State of Mississippi has 111,541 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 117,078.

The State of Louisiana has 102,932 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 99,361.

While it is true that in many of the States not one-half of those entitled to vote actually did so, yet the wonderful nearness of the number of illiterates to the number of those who exercised the right of suffrage is startling.

The truth is that no government which rests upon universal suffrage can long continue unless the suffragists are intelligent, in the light of the above facts presented to them, and that the public school system, as it now exists, is a present warning. "A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or both." Nearly half a million of the white and almost a million of the colored voters in the South can not read the ballots which they cast. But thirteen years have elapsed since the latter class was given the ballot. At that time all of them were grossly ignorant not only of letters, but also absolutely devoid of all knowledge of the obligations of citizenship. During the intervening years the number of illiterates in the South has increased about 400,000, though the percentage of illiteracy to the whole population has decreased nearly a half cent. It would, however, take forty years to dispel this illiteracy at this rate of diminution.

There are 145,000 illiterate voters in North Carolina, and 117,000 in South Carolina. I clip the following from the National Republican of last winter:

The percentage of illiteracy to the voting population of the Garfield States in 1880 was less than 6; in the Hancock States it was 29.

About five times greater.

It is true that about 69 per cent. of the illiterate voters in the old slave States are Republicans, and it is also true that nearly that per centum of the illiterate vote was suppressed.

Suppressed, it is true; but it could not have been if intelligent.

Alabama has 120,858 illiterate voters; the popular vote of that State in 1880 was 151,507. Georgia has 143,087 illiterate voters; the popular vote there that year was 155,651. Mississippi has 111,541 illiterate voters; her popular vote in 1880 was 117,078. Louisiana has 102,932 illiterate voters, and cast 99,361 votes.

Mr. MORGAN. I suppose the Senator from New Hampshire knows that the great body of the illiterate men in Alabama voted for Garfield, and not for Hancock.

Mr. BLAIR. I stated that. The Senator will find as I go on that my remarks are not prepared with any idea or feeling of self-glorification for the section of country that I belong to. I have endeavored to simply state the facts.

By the Census (table 40) Compendium, page 560, it appears that the total number of white males over 21 years of age in the country in 1880 was 11,313,005; native-born, 8,270,518; foreign-born, 3,072,487; colored, including Japanese, Chinese, and Indians, 1,437,341; making a total of 12,830,349.

The question of the suppression of the Republican vote in the South is one that I did not propose to introduce into the debate, and it is one on which there is something perhaps to be said on both sides, if it were before us.

In 1880 there were 105,465 Chinese, 148 Japanese, and 66,407 civilized Indians. I am aware of no means by which the actual number of voters in the United States can be ascertained, but if we add to the total of male population over 21 years of age one-eighth of the total of 1880 we have 1,603,793, and in all at this time 14,434,142. Assuming one-half the foreign-born males of voting age to be naturalized, we have a voting element as follows, making allowance for increase of one-eighth in each element since the census was taken: Native-born white voters, 9,203,332; foreign-born white voters, 1,728,274; colored (excluding Chi-

nese, Japanese, and Indians), 1,479,739; total voting population of the United States in 1884, 12,411,345; or in round numbers there will be 12,500,000 men whose ballots will or may decide the next Presidential election.

The percentage of illiterate white males over 21 years of age by the census of 1880 is 7.8, and of colored the rate is 69.7. There is no perceptible change in this percentage for the better, judging from the fact that the illiterate population increased, according to a statement of the Commissioner of Education, between the years 1870 and 1880, 581,514 persons. There is some confusion in the data, but I think there was an increase during that period substantially as estimated by the Commissioner. We have then at the present time an illiterate white voting population of 852,665; illiterate colored voters, 1,016,580; total illiterate voters, 1,869,245.

Generally the number is placed at more than 2,000,000. Such estimates can never be more than approximately correct, but they are in my belief practically greatly understated, because the technical qualification of being able to write one's name, however crudely, is very slight evidence of capacity to comprehend political issues or to discriminate intelligently between candidates for public positions.

This observation derives special significance when it is still further considered that the enumeration must of necessity rely generally as to the possession of even this qualification upon the verbal statement of the party concerned, who is not likely to make an unpleasant admission of incapacity against himself.

I do not believe that more than two-thirds, or at the most three-fourths, of the voting population of this country is to-day in possession of a degree of proficiency in the arts of reading and writing that qualifies them, through the use of those arts, to exercise the right of suffrage more intelligently than do total illiterates. The school education of great multitudes is nominal, not real.

I purposely omit other data as to the distribution of the illiterate vote. If it were uniformly dispersed it would be less dangerous. But concentrated as it is in masses at points along the line, while intelligence can never be too strong anywhere, and considering that a majority of one in Florida or in Oregon may decide the most important of national elections and determine the future history of the whole country, I for one find it impossible to sleep in peace over this volcano.

As will be seen by reference to tables in the report of the committee and to the census the school age varies greatly in different States. In some it is from 5 to 15, in others from 4 to 21, and with great diversity between those extremes. In a speech in support of a measure substantially the same as this, made in the Senate June 15, 1882, after careful consideration, I stated the number of our population who should be in schools as, in my opinion, 18,000,000. I believe it to be now 20,000,000. By the census of 1880 the number within the school ages was 15,303,535. Of this number were then enrolled, that is, their names were on some list of pupils, 9,780,773, leaving 5,522,762 not attending school anywhere. But there were 567,160 enrolled in private schools, making a total of 10,347,933 enrolled in all schools of the country, both public and private, and leaving 4,955,602, or nearly one-third, of the legal school population not attending either public or private places of instruction.

If, now, the total enrolled in public and private schools be increased one-eighth, as in previous calculations, we have a present school population in process of mental training of 11,641,424. If I am substantially correct in assuming a present population of 20,000,000 who should be either in public or private schools, from our total of at least 56,000,000 now living in this country, there will remain 8,358,576 who do not attend schools of any kind whatever, unless it may be of liberal or professional training. Making all allowances which can be reasonably claimed, there must be 8,000,000 of less than 21 years of age who are not enjoying school privileges of any description whatever. But look still further, in order that we may judge of the efficiency of our system in dealing with those actually enrolled. By the census, out of the 9,780,773 on the public school registers, there was an average daily attendance of 5,804,993; so that the real fact is that the net educational result is the same as though the latter number had attended the whole school period yearly, which is perhaps five months of the twelve in the whole country, and 9,499,542 had not received a single hour of school instruction for the year.

If the present average daily attendance in public and private schools be ascertained by adding one-eighth to the aggregate of 1880, to wit, 5,804,993, plus two-thirds the enrollment in private schools (which we may fairly assume to be the average daily attendance, or, to be liberal, 400,000 pupils), we have 6,204,993 increased by 775,623, or a total of 6,980,616, or say 7,000,000 in round numbers. Deducting this number from 20,000,000, and we have the same general result upon the educational status of our school population as though 13,000,000 of the 20,000,000 did not attend school at all.

Of course this calculation is of little value save as it affords a means of comparing our real condition with what it would be if the whole school population should attend constantly five months yearly between the ages of 4 and 21 years. Making every possible allowance for professional and other forms of special training, I do not believe that there is an average daily attendance of 10,000,000, or one-half our population,

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between the above-named ages twenty weeks of the year. I do not think there are sittings or accommodations of any kind, no matter how primitive and inexpensive, for one-half our school population. We have now less than 300,000 teachers and an average of more than 66 pupils for each. We require at least 200,000 more, and both the professional standard and the pecuniary compensation of the body as a whole should be very much raised.

In table 136, page 1649, part 2 of Compendium, the whole number of teachers employed at the time is set down at 236,019; the total number who attended school during the year 1880 at 9,946,160, and the average daily attendance, 6,276,398. The whole number of public schools, elementary and high, is placed at 225,880; the number of school buildings 164,832, and the whole number of sittings provided 8,968,731. The data I have relied upon in making these calculations have been derived in part from the census and in part from the returns of the Bureau of Education, which are collected with great care.

I propose now to state a few well-authenticated facts in regard to the actual condition of common-school education in different portions of the country.

The Louisiana Educational Society has just memorialized Congress upon the subject of national aid to common schools, praying for an appropriation. Their petition, presented by Senator GRINSON, is printed at length in the RECORD of March 11, 1884. It is such an admirable though distressing statement of the situation that I will ask the Secretary to read it to the Senate.

The Secretary read as follows:

OFFICE OF THE LOUISIANA EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY,
New Orleans, March 4, 1884.

To the honorable the Senate
and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

We beg leave to lay before you, on behalf of the State of Louisiana, the following statement of facts, and to submit this memorial:

The report of the superintendent of public education of the city of New Orleans for 1880 showed a total school population (6 to 18 years of age) of 61,456; a total enrollment in the public schools of the city of 24,401; and an average daily attendance in December and January (which were the months of largest attendance) of 17,135.

Although the number of educable children has largely increased since then, the superintendent reports for January, 1884, the enrollment to be only 14,482 with an average attendance of 11,070.

With an allowance of 10,000 in private and parochial schools (which is a large estimate) we still have 35,974 children in New Orleans receiving no educational instruction whatever.

The census of 1880 shows an average attendance of 15,190 (which included the months of most meager and the largest attendance). Thus you will see at a glance the large decrease in the number being educated, although the population is steadily increasing.

A corresponding retrogression exists throughout the State, and it may be safely assumed that the total school population of Louisiana (census of 1880) is more than 30 per cent. of them attend either public, private or parochial schools.

In the fifteen Southern States, including the District of Columbia, the census of 1880 shows that there are 2,702,835 (white and black) of the 5,703,216 school population not enrolled in schools, and notwithstanding the efforts made by the people of these States and the generous contributions from private sources in the South for the education of the children, the number of children unenrolled in the schools and the illiterates continue to increase.

The State and city have done much toward public education, but the illiterates are such a large proportion of the population, and poverty is so widespread that the taxable property can not bear such a burden as must necessarily be imposed to provide for and sustain public schools.

We are aware that, in so far as ignorance is the source of pauperism, crime, and a variety of sins, it is the duty of the State and the Federal Government to directly, only, but there is a common ground on which Federal and State interests meet and blend. Good government is necessary for both, and it is equally the duty of both to see that the citizen is made capable of performing the duties of citizenship intelligently, fearlessly, honestly. Said one: "Honest enough, brave enough, and keen enough to resist corruption, defy violence, and defeat fraud."

Both are alike interested in making the masses of the people sufficiently intelligent and moral to make the greatest good for the greatest number, and to comprehend also the converse of the proposition that the good of the greatest number is the highest and best interest of the individual citizen.

We believe that the very life of the Republic and the preservation of the liberty it vouchsafes depend upon the intelligence of its people, the universal education of its citizens; that as their illiteracy increases so do the dangers to our country multiply.

In the words of Senator BLAIR: "Education, physical, intellectual, and moral, is the primal necessity." The fathers and founders of our Government so considered it. They thought that a republic could stand only on the intelligence and virtue of its citizens.

Our danger is imminent and increasing. France in 1870 realized that it was not the needle-gun but educated Germany which so quickly brought her to defeat and subjection. She was taught a bitter lesson, by which she is now profiting. Still then she has not in her budget appropriation for public schools, made elementary schooling free and attendance compulsory. Let her history teach us to educate our children, they white or black.

But this can only be done with the liberal aid of the National Government, and unless it comes to our assistance the condition of our educational work must grow steadily worse.

We believe that a very large sum is necessary to meet the great need of the country. A bill before Congress proposes to give \$10,000,000 for the first year and to decrease the appropriation \$1,000,000 each year during a period of ten years, dividing it according to the number of illiterates in each State.

We trust that some such measures may meet your approval. Some such measures are necessary to stay and roll back the tide of illiteracy in this and other States of the South, which now finds no barriers strong enough to resist it. We believe to be equally important to make some such appropriation, and on behalf of our State we ask it to do so.

Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, declared the necessity for and the importance of public education. Said the latter in his inaugural address of 1817: "Let us by all wise and constitutional measures promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving liberties."

President Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur have severally recommended it. The President of the Board said: "All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States should be summoned to meet the danger by the saving influence of universal education."

With our poverty upon us and dangers before us we appeal to Congress to do all that can constitutionally be done to aid in the education of youth, so that we may reap the fruits of industry, integrity, and intelligence.

LOUIS BUSH, President
E. T. MURKIN, Vice-President,
L. L. FUGUE, Secretary,
CARTWRIGHT BUSTIS, Treasurer,
R. H. BROWNE,
J. C. MORRIS,
JAMES MCCONNELL,
R. M. WALMSLEY,
STANFORD E. CHAILE,
R. H. BROWNE, *Chairman*,
JAMES MCCONNELL,
S. S. COLEMAN,
SYLVANUS LANDRUM,
B. T. WALSH,
WARREN EASTON,
J. W. NICHOLSON,
Committee on Memorials.
Executive Committee Educational Society of Louisiana.

Mr. BLAIR. On Friday, March 24, 1882, a committee of the National Educational Association appeared before the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate and House of Representatives, to urge national aid to public-school education. The association comprises the superintendents of public instruction of the States and Territories and a large number of the principal educators of the country.

The committee of the association consisted of Hon. G. J. Orr, of Georgia; Hon. M. A. Newell, of Maryland; Hon. J. H. Smart, of Indiana; Hon. Hugh Thompson, of South Carolina; Dr. J. W. Dickinson, and Hon. B. G. Northrop, of Connecticut.

This committee presented at the hearing another memorial already prepared by representatives of the great religious denominations of the land, of the trustees of the Peabody fund, and of missionary and educational institutions, which memorial they indorsed and urged upon the consideration of Congress and the country.

I ask the Secretary to read the memorial.

The Secretary read as follows:

A MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

The undersigned earnestly call the attention of Senators and Representatives to the following facts and suggestions with reference to governmental aid to common schools on the basis of illiteracy.

The following table is based upon the estimates of the Bureau of Education. In the sums reaped by the States interest on the invested funds is not included, except in a few States. The table is not exhaustive, but only illustrative. [See note.]

We respectfully suggest:

1. The help should be so given that it will stimulate rather than supersede the necessity of State effort.

2. It should be help for the common schools; temporary aid in the training of teachers perhaps, but chiefly in giving them opportunity to teach. "The safety of the Republic is the supreme law of the land." This is the maxim which most justifies but demands action on the part of the General Government, and it should also suggest the limitations under which the action should be taken.

3. The help should be immediate and not remote. The fortunes of war and the necessities of legislative action have made citizens of a large mass of ignorant men, whose votes are shaped, for weal or woe, the character of our laws. Education and training are the best means of eradicating the element of ignorance and element of danger into one of enlightened strength and safety.

Largely more than one-half of a fund for the education of the illiterate would be used in the South for negro illiteracy; less than one-fourth because of white illiteracy. If Congress should create a fund which would give \$3 per annum per capita for the education of this class alone, it will require an aggregate annual sum of \$18,719,658. Of this, Mississippi, e. g., would receive \$1,119,603; but of this \$6,529 would be for colored illiterates and \$100,344 for white illiterates.

In view of the large amount of money which has been expended for the negro race, in

which have been expended about \$10,000,000, and speaking with a wide knowledge of facts, we emphatically assert the impossibility of accomplishing this great work unless the General Government shall come to the assistance of those States in which this illiteracy is chiefly found.

Every dollar we have expended expresses the consciences and earnest desire of the people that this work shall be done, and is an emphatic vote for the action for which we ask.

In the name of the millions of Christian citizens whom we represent we earnestly urge Congress to help qualify the ignorant voters who are intrusted largely by Congressional action with the ballot for the duties with which they are charged, believing the power to do this is co-ordinate with the power that enfranchised them.

REV. M. E. STRIEDY, D. D.,
American Missionary Association; Congregational.
REV. J. C. HAETZEL, D. D.,
Secretary Freedmen's Aid Society; Methodist.
REV. H. L. MOREHOUSE, D. D.,
Home Missionary Society; Baptist.
REV. SHELTON SIMPSON, D. D.,
Home Missionary Society; Presbyterian.
REV. J. L. M. CURRY, D. D.,
Agent of the Peabody Fund.
PROFESSOR C. C. PAINTER,
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
S. C. ARMSTRONG,
Hampton Institute, Virginia.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March, 1882.

Mr. BLAIR. I call attention to these signatures, not only on account of the great personal worth of the men themselves, of the superior position which they occupy as individuals in the country, but on account of the representative capacity in which they have signed the memorial. These denominations are also organized into a national educational assembly, which has had two annual meetings, of which Bishop Simpson is the president. It is proper that I should observe here that there is a substantial combination of all the great religious bodies of the country, at least in the Northern States, who have one specific purpose, and that is to urge upon Congress the appropriation of national money in the direction of general education.

The hearing which followed is to be found reported in full in Miscellaneous Document 55 of this session, to which I refer the Senate, but from which I wish now to quote a few of the more important state-

States.

	Total population, 1850.	Total illiterates 10 years and over, not white, 1850.	Total illiterates 10 years and over who can not write, 1850.	Total illiterates for colored schools, 1850.	What this gives for unprovided school of 30 pupils per annum.	Total sum that a fund of \$100,000 would give his State.	How much of it because of colored illiteracy.	How much of it white illiteracy.
Alabama	1,262,505	433,447	321,680	\$250,000	\$17 00	\$1,300,341	\$965,040	\$235,301
Iowa	1,621,615	46,609	42,227,000	139,827	139,827	139,827	139,827	139,827
North Carolina	1,399,750	463,975	271,943	20 00	1,391,975	815,829	576,096	239,827
Wisconsin	1,315,097	55,558	2,223,581	166,674	166,674	166,674	166,674	166,674
Kentucky	1,648,090	318,392	133,865	947,392	76 00	1,045,176	401,085	643,491
Michigan	1,636,937	65,723	2,453,881	191,169	191,169	191,169	191,169	191,169
Arkansas	804,770	29,421	1,030,475	13,639	13,639	6,000	310,419	252,827
Connecticut	629,700	28,421	1,276,667	85,272	85,272	85,272	85,272	85,272
Louisiana	919,946	318,380	239,429	450,000	42 00	955,140	775,237	176,853
Kansas	966,066	39,476	1,276,786	118,428	118,428	118,428	118,428	118,428
Georgia	1,542,186	520,416	391,482	471,089	27 00	1,361,248	1,171,446	381,862
Massachusetts	1,788,050	92,980	4,372,286	278,940	278,940	278,940	278,940	278,940
South Carolina	955,577	369,848	300,071	410,110	36 00	1,109,544	930,213	179,331
Minnesota	737,397	34,174	1,300,572	100,638	100,638	100,638	100,638	100,638
Maryland	934,443	134,488	90,172	420,977	275 00	403,464	270,519	132,943
Maine	648,906	22,170	829,800	66,510	66,510	66,510	66,510	66,510
West Virginia	618,375	55,373	10,139	703,185	217 00	256,128	30,417	225,711
Nebraska	452,402	11,528	786,963	31,584	31,584	31,584	31,584	31,584
Tennessee	1,732,040	410,722	194,495	698,776	51 00	1,032,166	583,435	648,781
New York	5,082,871	219,660	9,675,577	635,800	635,800	635,800	635,800	635,800
Virginia	1,512,162	402,652	314,660	1,200,556	87 00	1,200,556	941,780	941,780
Ohio	3,026,062	121,847	6,714,686	295,511	295,511	295,511	295,511	295,511
Mississippi	1,131,597	373,201	319,573	334,769	26 00	1,119,603	959,529	160,314
New Jersey	1,131,116	53,249	1,742,198	159,747	159,747	159,747	159,747	159,747
Florida	269,493	50,183	60,420	104,530	33 00	240,519	181,260	59,289
New Hampshire	316,991	34,302	541,716	42,906	42,906	42,906	42,906	42,906
Missouri	2,165,380	208,754	56,214	2,163,330	310 00	626,292	168,732	457,530
Illinois	3,077,871	145,397	6,735,478	436,191	436,191	436,191	436,191	436,191

ments made on that occasion. Superintendent Orr, of Georgia, addressed the committee as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the duty assigned me on this occasion is a very simple one. I have been laboring in this work in my State for the last ten years.

I desire to say that Superintendent Orr can speak with larger and more reliable authority probably from the standpoint of an educated, energetic, and patriotic Southern man upon this subject than any other man whatever in the whole country. I consider his statements as of very special significance, and entitled not alone to the attention of the Senate but of the entire country; in fact, all that I shall read, much to the weariness, I trust not to the disgust, of any members of the Senate, will be from representative men, who are much better authority on this subject than anything I might state. Mr. Orr said:

I have been the representative of the Department of Education since 1872. I do not care to detail the circumstances and difficulties which I propose to give you, gentlemen, some plain facts showing our condition, showing our necessities, showing the temper and spirit of our people, and I feel that we do this, when I put before you the condition of the State of Georgia, I shall have given you a type of what prevails throughout the entire South.

The year 1860, when one of the honored Senators from my State, now present, was elected executive, the tax returns, according to the documents in the office of the committee, showed that the amount of taxes paid to the State office which I now have the honor of filling, I went to the files, and I find, that after the purpose of trying to ascertain the aggregate value of property at the first return made after the war, I found it to be \$170,000,000. The property of the State was thus reduced \$500,000,000 in value. This made a great change in the condition of the State, as you may well know; but this does not represent fully the change.

It makes a good deal of it. It looks a good deal of it. We will go into greater detail, gentlemen, as you please, but I have no time to do with. They had to borrow. They had to give a lien upon the property which they held in order to enable them to pay the debts and those who held the capital entitled exorbitant interest. Our farmers and agriculturists have been paying from 50 to 100 per cent, for advances. Having their noses thus put to the grindstone, they have been kept there up to the present time, for every intelligent man knows very well that farming can not be conducted successfully when the capital used in costs such a percentage. The lack of resources and the utterly disordered condition of the labor of the country put us in a very helpless condition.

Let me glance for a few moments at certain other facts. We had in the State of Georgia two kinds of citizens—those who had always been citizens, and a number of persons, very nearly equal, who had been made citizens as a result of the Civil War. The school education, which was taken four years ago, showed that we had 1,090 colored school children in the State. The entire school population is 433,441. The difference will show you how many are colored; nearly half, you will see.

Let me say a few words about the colored people. They were made free without resources. They had no capital; they had no habits that would lead men when thrown upon their own resources to accumulate capital. They have been gathering capital gradually, until I am very glad to report that the last return of the property of the State showed that there were in the hands of the colored people of that State some \$6,000,000 worth of property. I think the colored peo-

ple of the State have done nobly; I say it here to their credit. But the point I am now making is the immense burden which was put upon us. I do not give you an idea of that burden by telling you the number of persons who were suddenly made free without resources. That does not give you an idea at all.

There is no means of getting at the number exactly, but I think at least one-half of the white population was in the same condition, utterly wrecked, ruined financially, and the results of that unfortunate struggle we have engaged. For us, I do not see any way out of it, except to go to the colored people, and I think that the hand of resurrection will never bring them up again. I think it comes up to this generation to begin to think about living for the future, to forget the past. We have a great country, and here we must dwell; our people want to dwell with you in unity and harmony. I know what I say; I have visited in the course of the administration of my office almost every county in the State of Georgia. I have made two hundred addresses to the people, to the colored people, to the colored men, to the colored women, to the spirit of the people, their present sentiment. I know it from mingling with them in their cottages and in their cabins, for I have visited the colored man as well as the white man. I have mingled with all; I know their feelings.

I want to say to you, gentlemen, that in the State of Georgia, under my administration of ten years, the entire loss of school fund will not foot up more than \$100,000. In my administration covering ten years there has not been a single school established with the exception of that of 1871. We have to make it do the greatest possible amount of good. We try to manage it with the greatest economy. We admit to our schools all who want to enter them. We commenced in 1871 with a school attendance of 48,000. We have gone gradually upward. My brethren here will excuse me for using the same illustration which I did before the association when in session. One of the fathers, a man contributed to the treasury of our colored people, a bond of \$100,000 in early history of that State, I allude to Abraham Baldwin—in speaking once of our power, illustrated it by that wonderful power known as the screw. He stated that every revolution it gained a little and it held all it gained. I quote his illustration, not making the same application of it; I make a very different one.

We have gained at every revolution a little in Georgia, and we retain all that we gain. We are moving steadily forward. We commenced with an attendance of 48,000 in the first year, and now we have an attendance of 236,000 in the next 156,000. I will not follow the details along. Year before last (ay 70's) we had not been footed up, as the returns are not all in) we went up to school attendance of 236,000. We have never failed to gain as much as \$9,000 in any year. We have gone over that in attendance every year, and the colored people have proceeded *pari passu* with the whites in their attendance. They commenced with 6,000 and went up, according to the last return, to 86,000 colored children in our schools. There is no indiscriminate making; no man can afford to do it in any of our States. The truth is, the colored men, the colored people, the administration of exact and equal justice that no man can afford to do it. We are struggling to do the very best we can with our limited means.

I have read a good deal on the subject of the school history of this country and of the different States. In addition to that, I have given my attention to this great subject of the education of the races for eleven or twelve years. I have been reading a great deal into my mind, and will tell you what I find there. That comes up to the circumstances in which we were placed, the great disadvantages under which we labored, the immense difficulties which we had to contend with—considering all these things and considering the work achieved, I do not believe the equal of it has been done in any State of this Union in any time during the past. If it has, it is not within my knowledge. We have wrought a marvelous work, but we were unable to do what ought to be done. We intended to you, gentlemen, to bring up the subject of our colored people in Georgia, in memory of your fathers and of our fathers, for we are one of the old thirteen. We stood shoulder to shoulder with you in that contest, and I want to say here to day that if another contest shall arise our people will stand by the people of New England and the people of the Middle States in supporting the power and the Government of the United States.

Gentlemen, I do not know that I could state anything further that would be of value to you. I have given you a great deal of information which my brethren here from New England, and from the great Northwest, and from the Middle States, and from the Southern States, met in council, and when we sat down as brethren, and when we agreed almost unanimously upon every point to be submitted to this committee for consideration. We are practically a unit, and on all of these recommendations the men from all portions of the country agree.

Now, gentlemen, begging pardon, for taking up so much of your valuable time, and thinking that it is proper for me to yield to others who may have something to say on this occasion, I shall conclude by asking, as I know I shall have,

the candid consideration of this great question of the education of the masses, greater than questions of commerce, than questions of currency, than questions of tariff, than questions of constitutional law—greater than any questions that statesmanship will have to contend with and settle, because we make the people, and without the people we can have nothing else. We make the men and women of the country. I shall say nothing further.

Representative Updegraff, now dead, asked this question, to which Mr. Orr responded:

Would it be to the honorable gentleman whether the average time of continuance at school has increased?

Mr. Orr. Our last Legislature succeeded in adding about \$100,000 to the fund. We shall have this year very nearly \$600,000 to operate with. We shall be able to run our schools in many of our counties absolutely free for four months of the present year—that is my estimate—and in all of them paying the entire expense for three months. We are adding just as rapidly as we can.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived the Chair will lay before the Senate the unfinished business, which the Chair believes is the bill to which, by the unanimous consent of the Senate, the Senator from New Hampshire is now addressing himself. It is now before the Senate in its own right for consideration. The Senator from New Hampshire is entitled to the floor.

Mr. BLAIR. Hon. Hugh Thompson, of South Carolina, was before the committee and made the following statement from his standpoint as a prominent citizen of that State, and as superintendent of public instruction, I think, at that time:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in presenting the view of South Carolina I shall as to call the attention of the committee to three points:

First. That the State of South Carolina is now doing all in her power for public education.

Second. That it is impossible in her impoverished condition for her to furnish the means of education to the masses of the children; and

Thirdly. That the aid we ask for, if granted at all, should be granted immediately.

I have brought here some figures from the school returns of South Carolina, which I wish to read, and as I have no set speech to make to the committee, I shall be glad to answer any question that any member of the committee may wish to ask. An interruption will not interfere at all with the line that I shall take.

I call the attention of the committee, first to the fact that in 1877, when I took charge of the department of education in South Carolina, the first thing I did was to call for a statement from the different counties of the amount of past indebtedness, known as the school indebtedness. I was aware that it was large, but was surprised to find that it amounted to but little upon the part of \$20,000,000 against the school fund. This debt at that time of \$20,000 was supposed to be the full limit, but upon subsequent investigation it turned out to be much larger. During the period from 1877 until the present time we have been attempting to pay off this debt. In some of the counties the debt has been entirely liquidated, and there are not more than one or two counties now remaining in which there is any considerable debt to be paid. But that debt has not been paid off entirely, as we have a large amount of debt in the public school system. In addition to that we have a debt of \$191,800, known as agricultural land scrip. There was not one cent of that money to be found in the treasury; the last dollar of it had been misappropriated. That fund, too, has been restored.

The committee will observe, therefore, that we have paid a debt of over \$400,000, money that ought to have been paid for elementary and higher education, and that we have had to make our attempts to make the school system as strong as it might otherwise have been.

The assessed value of the property of South Carolina to-day is nearly \$138,000,000. We have three sources of revenue from which our school-tax is derived.

First, it comes from a constitutional tax of 2 mills on the dollar upon all the taxable property of the State. The amendment to the constitution making this a part of the public law of the State was adopted in 1877. Observed, gentlemen, that this is part of the public law; it is not subject to change by different Legislatures. We are glad to state that each year the income from this source grows larger and larger as the assessed value of property is raised.

The second source from which we derive an income is from the poll-tax. There are in the State of South Carolina, on the books, 140,000 polls, and the poll-tax there is \$1 a head. We have never succeeded in collecting more than \$114,000 from this source, owing to the fact that a large number of the voters of the State are away without property, and we can not enforce the collection of even the \$1 per head.

The third source from which we derive our revenue is local taxation. This mode of raising taxes is becoming more and more in vogue each year. At each session of the Legislature we find different towns coming forward and asking permission to levy additional taxation.

The misuse of the public money during the first years of the school system, from the time of the restoration of the State to the time when the leaders became one of the great obstacles that the school men of South Carolina have had to contend with, because we are constantly met with the charge that the thousands of dollars that were wrung from the people within the period named were misappropriated, were stolen and misappropriated, and that this public-school system is only an engine of taxation, the money for which will not be carried into the channel of education, but will be carried into the channel of taxation, is a very plausible story. As I said the other night, before the association of superintendents, I am convinced that if to-day the question of maintaining the public-school system of South Carolina were submitted to a vote of white citizens alone, by a very large majority they would be in favor of maintaining it and strengthening it and of developing it so far as may be in their power.

I should like to call the attention of the committee, in order to show what the State has done to try to collect the taxes collected for the different purposes in South Carolina. The whole of the State tax, in round numbers, is \$23,000. The proceeds of the county taxes are about \$800,000, making a total of nearly \$1,500,000. The proceeds of the school and poll taxes, according to the last returns of the comptroller-general, were \$465,000. In other words, the school tax of South Carolina is about one-third of all the other taxes that are collected in the State. The poll tax was \$465,000. Of course the actual amount collected was a little less than that, being about \$425,000, because there were a good many delinquent taxes.

In addition to this the State now makes an appropriation of \$24,000 for the University of South Carolina. That university has two branches, the old South Carolina College at Columbia, for the whites, and the Clafin College at Orangeburg, for the colored. The Clafin College is partly supported from benefactions by benevolent persons in the North; but the colored public school system, for the whites and colored, is maintained by the State at an annual cost of about \$24,000. In both these institutions instruction is free; no charge whatever is made for tuition. In the Clafin school at Orangeburg we have a normal

department for teachers, which is each year turning out successive bodies of skilled and trained teachers, who are doing estimable work for the colored. In addition to this the State has recently made provision for the establishment of a military academy there will be a building \$15,000 a year for that purpose. In this military academy there will be 200 cadets, as before the war, two cadets from each county, who pay nothing whatever. They are supported in full by the State, and they are required to teach two years in the public schools of the State after their graduation. There will be another class of young men in the institution known as pay cadets, who will pay moderate tuition for themselves, and will not be required to render any service. They will pay their way through the institution, and will be supported in full by the State, and the State, this year an appropriation of \$15,500 having been made for that purpose.

You will observe, therefore, gentlemen, that we are appropriating now about \$465,000 for elementary education in South Carolina and a little over \$40,000 for higher education, making a total of more than half a million dollars which South Carolina is devoting to this purpose, with an assessed valuation of property of \$138,000,000.

I should like to call the attention of the committee to another comparison. The whole expense of the State government of South Carolina for the last year, inclusive of interest on the public debt, was \$238,575. The expenses for the maintenance of the charitable institutions, there being but two, an asylum for the insane, and one for the deaf and dumb, were \$116,164. Therefore the expense of public schools and of charitable institutions was \$351,164. For these purposes South Carolina appropriates two and a half millions, as much as she does for the wants of the State. For State government. For public schools alone she appropriates as much as she does for all the expenses of the State government. I mention these facts in support of the position which I take that the State is doing all she can for the maintenance of her public schools.

I now desire to call the attention of the committee to the second point I make, which is that the State of South Carolina is unable because of her impoverished condition to give proper instruction to all children in her population. The ratio of the colored population to the white population is 19 to 10 and the census of 1875 as made by the returns of the county school commissioners in 1875 (I have been unable to get the returns of the census, which are more accurate, and I doubt not will show even larger figures than these) was, whites 85,678, colored 152,293, making a total of 237,971 children. The school attendance in South Carolina for the year 1880-'81 was, whites 61,339, colored 12,119, making a total of 73,458 at the public schools. The expenditure per capita of school population was \$1.95. The expenditure per capita of colored school population was \$1.05. The expenditure per capita of white school population was \$1.95. The proportion of the fact that while these schools are free and open to all, and no distinction is made on account of race or color, according to these returns (which are inaccurate, because I believe they are below the truth), we have 100,000 children in the State of South Carolina whom we are unable to educate for the want of larger means. The number of public schools in the State last year was 3,057, the number of white teachers 2,052, the number of colored teachers 1,223, making a total of 3,275.

Taking the illiteracy of South Carolina shown by the return of the last census, which I had an opportunity of observing last night, the ratio of white illiteracy to the whole population is 7.77 per cent.; the ratio of colored illiteracy to the whole population is 33.09. I maintain that as far as controlling the white illiteracy in the State is concerned, South Carolina is able, ready, and willing to control it; and that she is equally ready and willing to control the colored illiteracy, but that it is not equally easy. It is from this class of our citizenry, I class, whom I claim that the State government of South Carolina in all its departments has done full and ample justice, that the trouble comes. I believe I speak the sentiment of the majority of the people of the State when I say that we in South Carolina feel that the safety and prosperity of the State depend upon the education of that class of our citizens. I need not speak to you, gentlemen, of the committee of the limited opportunity, which I believe has had heretofore a very limited opportunity, for the State and for the Federal Government to come to the front at this time, and to make South Carolina and other Southern States what I believe the people of those States desire that they shall be, thoroughly educated.

I will call the attention of the committee to the fact that there are now in the Southern States about 5,000,000 children ready and needing the opportunities of education. The expenditure of the State of South Carolina for these are about \$7,000,000, which is one dollar a head. It would take at the lowest estimate \$20,000,000 to furnish the opportunities of education to our children in the South. Gentlemen, I say, as one knowing the spirit of the people and knowing their limited resources, that we have not the means to furnish this education.

I do not propose to detain the committee with any argument as to the right of the General Government to interfere in the means for which we ask. I desire to say to my State and I can say that I speak the sentiment of other States, that we do not interfere here as mendicants in this matter. We do not come here asking for charity. We have put our own shoulders to the wheel; we are using all the efforts in our power, and we simply ask of this great Government that it will come to our aid now in the time of our great necessity, because if this aid is not given to us if it is not granted now, as I have shown, there are thousands of children whom we are unable to educate, and who need this assistance at this very moment, who will not be educated.

I was told this morning, since I entered this room, by a gentleman to whom I was introduced, that South Carolina always liked to be in the front. As of old, South Carolina wants to be in the front in the matter of public education. It is for that reason we have come here, because we have not the means, as I have stated, to furnish this education ourselves. I believe that a few weeks ago when some gentlemen from this State were called before a committee of the House of Representatives of the Congress, with regard to the deepening of the harbor at Charleston, and the improvement of that harbor. That great work is now going on under the charge of a distinguished engineer, a distinguished soldier, whose duty it was during the war to leave more imperishable marks upon the city of Charleston. He is there now in the quiet pursuits of peace, deepening that harbor, and giving to South Carolina an outlet for her trade and her commerce, who she is. I am told, by gentlemen there, that said that South Carolina has not second even to the deepening of the harbor of her great metropolis. Great as her resources, wonderful as her power is when fully developed, the true source of her strength and of her power is in the brains of her people. It is for that purpose we are here to ask the Government to give her the means of developing the brains of her people, and we do ask that we may have an opportunity of coming to the front and carrying the name of the State of South Carolina, and making South Carolina as one of the States of this great country, and making South Carolina, as one of the States of the Union, contribute her quota to make the people of this whole country once more prosperous, happy, and united.

I call the attention of the Senate to these particulars because they demonstrate that on the part of the State of South Carolina there is really

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

being a very earnest and energetic effort made to educate the children of the State so far as can be done with the available revenues. I call special attention to the following statement made by Hon. J. H. Smart, then and for many years superintendent of public instruction of the State of Indiana, as that of one of the most distinguished educators of the country, and a Northern man whose associations have been such as to make him a conservative and reliable observer. I am proud to claim him as a son of New Hampshire.

ADDRESS OF J. H. SMART.

Mr. DICKINSON. I now present a gentleman eminent as an educator, a friend of education, who is here to represent the North. I refer to Hon. J. H. Smart, of Indiana, and I will say before he commences that Mr. Smart presided two years ago at the meeting of the National Teachers' Association which met at Atlanta, and he knows well the spirit of the people of that country.

Mr. SMART. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I shall detain you just long enough to state a fact and to express an opinion, a fact in reference to the need of the South, and an opinion in reference to their willingness to do what they can.

It has been my fortune to be able to make several visits to a number of the Southern States, and on one of these, taken last summer, I was driven from one of the popular summer resorts in the State of Georgia to the railway station, a distance of about 15 miles, and frequently during my stay in that State I was highly assisted by Southern people—a negro who owned his own team, letting it to the hotel proprietors and his own services during the summer months. He informed me that he owned a little house and a small amount of land; that he rented fifty acres, and I found that he knew a good deal about the condition of things in his locality. I have talked with several hundred negroes in the South as occasion offered, and I want to tell you some of the answers this driver gave to some of my questions.

This man was thirty-two years of age, and he told me that he had tried to learn that there was a school within a reasonable distance, and that he had attended that school; but he confessed that he had not been able to learn very much. He was a man of more than ordinary intelligence for one in his condition. I asked him if he knew the name of the President of the United States, and he said that he did not. I asked him if he knew the name of the governor of his State; he said that he did not. I asked him if he knew the name of the President of the United States in his present section; he said that he did not. "Can you tell me for whom you voted?" "No, sir; I can not; I do not recollect." "Do you know anything about England?" "Yes, sir; I have heard something about England." "Is it in the United States?" "I do not know." "Is France in the United States?" "I can't tell you; I think it is." "Did you ever hear of Governor Colquitt?" "Oh, yes; I think I voted for him. Is he the man you spoke of a moment ago?" "No, sir; he is not the President of the United States." "Did you ever hear of General Grant?" "Yes, sir; he wasn't president, was he?" "Is not that the man you voted for?" "Yes," he thought it was.

Now, this man, unable to read his ballot, is not a subject whose duty it is to obey, the sum of whose political duties is found in the word obedience, but he is a sovereign, and the ballot is put into his hands. It has been put there by the national Congress. That man makes the law that governs me. Forty per cent, as I am informed by the Orr of the voting population of this State are illiterate. There being 800,000 negroes.

I related this incident to a number of Southern superintendents a while ago, and it was told that it was a typical case, much to my astonishment, and that what I found here with this negro was to be found in thousands of cases in the other States. I believe that the State of Georgia is in danger, and not only the State of Georgia, but the State of Indiana, from this state of affairs—in more danger than if one hundred thousand men were to land on the coast of Georgia to-day, and be unprepared for war, and that the State of Indiana will suffer from this condition of affairs.

Now, I want to express the opinion that the Southern people are willing to do all they can to cure this great evil and remove this great wrong, and, so far as I have observed, the work that has been done, under existing circumstances, has been a marvelous work. The Southern people have made a heroic effort, certainly in three or four States. I have been visited to the best that could be done for these colored people. I want to leave this to the colored people of the Southern States, without one exception, the colored people are given the same advantages that the white people are given. No distinction whatever is made; and, so far as I was able to find out, there is an almost unanimous, certainly an overwhelming, sentiment in favor of educating the colored children equally with the white children. And I believe, from what I saw, that we are able to trust the existing State organizations represented by these gentlemen; we are able to trust them, we can appropriate, and I speak after some investigation and after deliberation.

There is a pressing need, and these gentlemen have told you about it; there is no necessity for me to talk about it, but I want to express the feeling that I think exists in my own section of the country; that this appropriation ought to be made—not only for the protection of the people of the South, but for the protection of the people of the North; that while we do not need it for our own illiteracy, we have been compelled to do it, and we do it because we suffer from an ignorant ballot, and we see danger in it, and we join our brethren from the South in asking Congress to make an adequate and speedy appropriation in order that this great evil may be rooted out.

Mr. M. A. Newell, then superintendent of public instruction for the State of Maryland, a very able gentleman, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am not here today to make any special plea in behalf of Maryland. We think that in a small way and in the course of time we shall be able to take care of our own people in the way of education. I am here to show that, so far as Maryland is concerned, we are in absolute accord with the gentlemen who have already addressed you. We look upon ignorance not as a local, but as a national question, and we consider it as much or nearly as much of an evil to have ignorance in the State of Georgia as it would be to have it in Maryland or Pennsylvania. And I think, Mr. Chairman, and you and the gentlemen of the committee have studied this question long and deeply; you are hardly aware even now of the immense mass of ignorance that is pressing upon us not only in the South but in the Middle States and in the North. I can hardly bring this more pointedly to your notice than by stating a few simple facts with regard to my own State.

I read in an educational department of Maryland for fourteen years successively, and therefore I know well that I can say, so far as personal knowledge goes, we spend every year a million and a half dollars for common school education. We keep our schools open in most of our counties ten months in the year, in none of them less than seven months and a half, and an average of nine months or every year. Our teachers are reasonably well paid; they are properly selected, and are doing their work as well as could be expected under the circumstances. All other surroundings are in favor of education. The people believe in it, for the most part, the people live in it, for their neighbors. And yet, Mr. Chairman, after sixteen years of a uniform State system, well supported, tolerably well endowed, the last census reports 121,000 illiterates in the little State of Maryland.

Now, sir, the argument is, *a fortiori*, if, after sixteen years of hard and honest work, we have not been able to wash out this black stain of ignorance, what chance have our friends in South Carolina and in Georgia and in Florida to do with theirs?

Mr. Chairman, I am old-fashioned enough to think still that the State ought to do nothing that the private individual can do well, and I am willing to carry it further, and to say that the National Government should do nothing to interfere with Georgia and the other Southern States in all his/her experience prove to us that the individual is not able to educate his children. Let me further done it in the history of the world; the State must come in and aid him in the work; and I think we have proved abundantly that in our Southern States, at all events, the State is not able to do the work of education. Therefore, I say it is the duty and the privilege of the National Government to come in and help the States to do that which they are willing but are not able to do.

The above statement from the efficient superintendent of Maryland demonstrates not only the necessities of his own and other States, but the further fact that even with the prolonged school year an immense outlay is required to increase the accommodations that the surplus school population now not reached at all may be brought in.

Hon. D. F. De Wolf, superintendent for Ohio, spoke thus for Ohio and the central Western States:

Mr. De Wolf. Gentlemen, there is one point that I should like to speak of for the State of Ohio, and I think for the central and Western States. I have mingled with these people for forty years; was with them during the great struggle that resulted in the reconstruction, so called, of the Southern States. Those were the years when the Southern States were in a condition of rebellion when they turned in imposing on the Southern States a large body of voters. They took the responsibility of imposing upon that section of the country and upon the United States a large body of voters. I do not know but that they did wisely, and I do not know but that they think they did wisely, but they think they assumed very great responsibilities, and I think they are ready now to consider those responsibilities, and to take what action may be necessary to meet those responsibilities.

Rev. Dr. A. D. Mayo, of Massachusetts, who is as well informed upon this subject as any man living, next addressed the committee. Dr. Mayo is well known throughout the country. His views have been expressed on many occasions, and they are those probably of the largest and perhaps the most accurate observer in the Northern States upon this matter of the school condition of the people of the South.

Rev. Dr. Mayo. Gentlemen of the committee: I suppose my brethren have asked me to say a word to you because for the last two years I have spent my winter months in the South, visiting the method of twelve of the Southern States, from Virginia to Texas. During the time I have had the most ample opportunities afforded me by the State authorities, by teachers, by citizens, by pupils, by people of every class to ascertain the condition of educational affairs in that portion of the country, and I feel that I am in a condition to form intelligent opinions in regard to the several matters that will come before you in this consultation. Of course time will not permit me to give the data or the reasons for conclusions to you, to you, but ever since I have been there I have thought it would be of great service to you to have some knowledge of affairs in the South, and never went through the South until two years ago—several chances have forced themselves constantly upon my attention.

In the first place, I am fully prepared to indorse that emphatic declaration of Dr. Curry, who perhaps better than any Southerner may understand the educational condition of the South, when he says that the illiteracy of the Southern States is absolutely appalling. I wish to call your attention to the leading class of the white people. Sirs, we are an ignorant people. I find them there a very cultivated people; I find a people equal to any people in the world; but I find as a class the white people of the South are fully up to the people of any State in the Union in natural capacity and force; but the condition of illiteracy which exists seems to me absolutely appalling. And one little point I wish to call your attention to here: Not only is this illiteracy confined to the colored people and the poor white people, there is another danger, unless something can be done soon, that great numbers of the children of the better classes of white people in the South will be plunged into illiteracy.

No class in the South suffered so much from the effects of the war as the respectable leading class of white people in the South, and to-day there are hundreds of thousands of boys and girls growing up throughout all the Southern States, the sons and daughters of the leading people of those States, who, unless something can be done very quickly, we do not know how to grow up in ignorance. Perhaps there is a class of people that can help us in this State, and we should lose what it has gained. While the blacks and the poorer whites are really better off in educational affairs than ever before, the children of the better classes of people are absolutely worse off than they ever were before.

Now, to meet this condition of illiteracy it seems to me utterly idle to speak of anything but a system of thorough elementary education afforded by the State. No church system of schools, no private system of schools can meet the emergency. There must be a system of voluntary education, which includes the training of teachers, the school-houses, and everything of this kind, in order to meet this great want.

Another matter has forced itself very constantly on my attention, which has been alluded to before, which is this: I am pretty well acquainted with the condition of education in our country and in other countries, and I have no hesitation in announcing to you gentlemen, my conviction, that never will in ten years time have the world be in a condition so great, so persistent, and so absolutely hopeless as has been made by any people for the education of the children as by the leading class of the people in our Southern States.

Practically, within ten years every one of these Southern States has put on its statute-book a system of public schools; practically, within this time every district of country in the South has received something that can be called a school. This school public, as we may call it, consists of a number of inferior, untrained teachers, of a number of people all over the South, who is to my mind the most foolish, the most persistent, the most devoted school public now in any part of the world. There is no body of superior teachers doing so much work for so little pay and under such great disadvantages as in the South to-day. There is no minority of people working so hard to overcome this terrible calamity of illiteracy anywhere in the world to-day as in the South. I give this as the deliberate result of my observations, and I have no doubt that the people of the South, in their present condition, it seems to me that in building up this system of elementary education our Southern people have come almost to a halt. For the last ten years the school public has been working in every conceivable way to bring the attention of the people to this matter, and I believe to-day that the practicable limit of taxation is about reached. We may say ideally and abstractly that the Southern people can give more than they do for education, but practically looking at us we find at every point the people are taxed to the limit that it is reasonable. And then the question is, with which we find things there to-day? Perhaps \$10,000,000 is expended through these States of the South, for elementary education, and there seems to be just about money enough to put on the ground a system of schools which, while it is an improvement to the negro and to the poor

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white man, is profoundly unsatisfactory and insufficient for the leading class of the white population of the South, and the progress of the colored people of the South, the school system has broken down the old-fashioned system of education by which the white people obtained their help, and has introduced an inefficient system, so that a multitude of these people really have no good place to educate their children.

Let me illustrate the state of things: Here is a town, or a district that has a thousand dollars a year told, for school purposes; with that thousand dollars that district will establish a school for the poor or foundling children, a school with an inexperienced teacher, in an inefficient school-house; a school which is not satisfactory to the best people, which can not do the work that should be done. That is the course of things all over the Southern States, in cities, in country towns, and in the country districts, and the crying want through all that country is that what these people now have shall be supplemented by enough to put a good school system once on the ground.

We now have another, which is that nine men out of ten in the South never save so much as we call a good public elementary school. The thing that is necessary is to put for one year, for two years, for three years, in every district through that country a school that will be a fair representative of a public school, that the people can see it; and once having seen it and enjoyed its benefits they never will give it up again.

Now, it is utterly impossible for the average school authority to get into the schools on the ground. Give to the master and his wife \$1,000, another \$1,000, and at once, without any hindrance, with every opportunity, he can put on the ground the school that the people need; a school that, instead of being a school that satisfied nobody, is a school that satisfies everybody; and once having seen that school for one year, for two years, for five years, for ten years, that people will be stimulated to great exertions and will never give it up.

Let me illustrate this by an anecdote, which I saw which will put you in full possession of this mind. The little city of Goldsboro, N.C., has not four thousand people. Up to a year ago that city had no school in it, which was not satisfactory to any portion of the white inhabitants of the city; it had a poor public colored school under the county authorities.

Six months ago a few of the enterprising citizens of that city were able to put into operation a thorough white graded school. By the aid of the Peabody fund they were able to secure an expert teacher, so that a school was built up in the direction of a school. Four hundred children were put into a good school course, graded and organized; over them was put an expert teacher, and at once it was shown to everybody in that town what could be done with a good graded school. I visited that town one day, and it was like going to a town that was under the effect of a religious revival; everybody was in a state of delighted excitement; everybody was asking me to see the school; people were coming from all parts of the country to see it, and just because the agent of the Peabody fund could come in with his hundred dollars and give to that school the expert who made it what it was. The battle was won, the thing was done, everybody was satisfied, and the whole region around about was being instructed and brought up to that work.

Such schools in county towns mean good schools in the country districts. What we ask of you, gentlemen, is to give to these school authorities everywhere through the South, money enough to supplement what they are now doing; so instead of an insufficient school we have now, there can be put on the ground at once a good school, which will satisfy the people, which will confirm them in their desire to sustain education, and which will give them a fair understanding of the benefits of the institution.

Now, gentlemen, just one word more and I am done. Fully concur from my observation in all that has been said on several points. First, the South needs this money. It is needed. And you, gentlemen, who have now the responsibility of a school life, maintained by the average boy east of the Alleghanies for four years; the average school life of the Western boy, reckoned by months, is three years; the average school life of the white and colored school boy in the South is less than two years; the average school life of the average Southern boy is not one year?

This is the turnpike gate through which these children are streaming, and while you are here, and in the other locality of different methods, generation after generation, you may say, are streaming through.

What is to be done should be done at once to meet the great demand of the present.

In the next place, money enough ought to be given to do the work at once. If the roof of your house is on fire and you are obliged to put it out by carrying water in buckets it does no good to have a ladder that reaches to the second story, or with which you can not get up. What you want is a ladder that reaches to the roof, that will take you up where the danger is. The school system of the South to-day does not reach the full magnitude of the difficulty. Give enough at once to enable the school authorities to put a good school on the ground everywhere, and the difficulty is met.

One thing more, gentlemen. I am acquainted with the State superintendent of instruction. I believe in every Southern State, I am acquainted with the State superintendent of every Southern State. I am of the opinion that they have studied with great care in the records of all those offices the distribution of distribution of money. I believe there is no set of men in this country who are handling a moderate amount of money with greater economy, with greater fidelity than these gentlemen. It seems to me it would be a great mistake in distributing such funds as you give to put into each of these States a dual administration. If that should be done, I believe that at once \$100,000 or \$200,000 of money would be lost. I believe that the State superintendents of instruction, the set of men in this country that can be trusted to administer a fund of \$100,000,000 or \$200,000,000 in thirteen or fourteen States with fidelity is the school authorities of those States, and therefore it seems to me that this money should go directly to the children through the accustomed channels, of course being guarded by all proper safeguards the central power.

Among the cities of the South, no city has done so much as the city of Charleston, in this particular. Money has done so much with little help as the city of Charleston. We have to-day two representative men with us. We have the mayor of Charleston, who represents what has been done in that city. We have, in another citizen of Charleston, a young gentleman who is a fine representative of the kind of young school men that we must rely on to do this work through the country. If your time and patience will permit, it will give me great pleasure to introduce to you the mayor of Charleston, Mr. William A. Courtney.

Mayor Courtney spoke as follows:

Mr. COURTEENAY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, having in view the great pressure upon your time, I can best show my appreciation of the honor you have done my city by limiting what I have to say to a very brief statement of facts.

I will say that about twenty-five years ago we commenced in Charleston the system of public schools which was then being spread over the country. There were in 1860, four large, substantial brick school buildings of modern construction, comfortably equipped, and which were at that time the best educated. One of these buildings was destroyed by the fire of 1861, so that when we resumed our school work in 1865 or 1866 we had three school buildings with an average capacity of eight hundred seats, and we took the Shaw Memorial School into our public-school system, which had been erected in 1865, making

the same number of school-houses and about the same number of comfortable school-houses, and we expect during those school-houses—two are for white children and two are for colored children, and there in the Morris street school (which is the largest colored school we have) eighteen hundred children packed into accommodations intended for eight hundred.

That is our school situation to-day. We have been for five years levying a small tax, and a new school building will be completed this year which will somewhat relieve the pressure, but we need really two or three more commodious buildings for school purposes, which we shall build in time when we can raise the money. The State, gentlemen, has paid during the last fifteen years a constitutional tax of two mills. Charleston has paid during these last fifteen years an additional tax of from one to one and a half mills for the purpose of giving accommodations such as we have to give in these very crowded school-houses to a portion of the children of the city. I need not tell you what was intended to accommodate 3,000 children will not accommodate 4,000, and that there are 4,000 children crowded into the schools, there are children who can not get a place inside the school-houses to sit in, and are, therefore, not being educated. We have a very large class of this, and we have a large amount of charities to distribute every year, orphan houses and hospitals; the expenses of the city government are very nearly as much as those of the State; we have reached the limit of taxation; and we look naturally to the United States Government to come to the assistance of the city, the State, the South, and the country, to remove illiteracy, and make some provision by which this great curse can be cured.

I made a rough calculation hastily this morning without the data to make it accurate; but I assert here that the city of Charleston has paid for education over and above the State taxation since the close of the war somewhere between four and five hundred thousand dollars, and we will continue to do the best we can under any circumstances. But in view of the great burdens which are pressing upon us, we are engaged in a series of improvements in our city, and our great charities, which take from fifty to seventy thousand dollars a year—nearly 10 percent. of the whole income we feel that we can with some confidence come here and express our opinion in common with all other sections of the country for material and important aid.

If the gentlemen of the committee will be kind enough, I should like my friend Mr. Bryan to occupy the remainder of my time.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. J. P. Kennedy Bryan is a young gentleman, and appears to be the embodiment of the better time which is to be. His remarks profoundly impressed the committee. He was an eloquent, vigorous young man, I suppose a truly representative man of the rising life of the Southern portion of our country. No man ever made a stronger, more vigorous, and more pathetic appeal for aid or for assistance of any description than did this young gentleman of great ability from Charleston, S.C. Any Senator who will read that and vote against this bill is less of a Senator than I think.

Mr. ORE. Mr. J. P. Kennedy Bryan is a young gentleman who has been re-referred to the Senate of the United States district judge for South Carolina.

THE CHAIRMAN. We shall be happy to hear Mr. Bryan.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Chairman, I would hardly deem it in this presence, with so much gathering of wisdom and experience, proper for me to be heard here, were it not that the subject is one that concerns the committee, now considering one that appeals to me especially to speak of you, as I speak of the youth of the first, the first in the mind and the heart of the youth of the South. The burden of this question, the shoulders upon whom it is to fall, are those of the youth of that Southern country, who now wish to control its destiny and who now, for weal or for woe, await the decision here at this Capitol.

After that, I have, through my friend Dr. May, after what has been said by gentlemen from Massachusetts, and from Indiana, after what has been said with regard to the State at large by my friend Colonel Thompson, I need hardly speak; and I would not speak but that I think by giving you a pictorial image of the city of Charleston in facts and figures, that concrete thing, I can show you that even municipal aid added to State aid, with all the agencies of private education, in an old community and aid coming from the city that doubles the State aid, still will not appear to you that we do not meet nor control our burden. I would like to show the city of Charleston in a representative copy of the South, and expresses the conditions of all those States, and in a more favorable way than the country districts, that I will give you the facts and the figures relating to that community, because those facts and figures will bring home the question in its reality and show really what is our necessity and our danger.

That city is more favored because it has in it the seeds of a cultured society; it has in it more mighty power from the past, and those men are there, and the city and the State I think what is upon us. It has in it not only that, but men who have a sense of duty and men who have conscientiously risen to all the burdens of this occasion.

Why, gentlemen, in 1860 the city of Charleston had an educational plan greater than any Southern city. It had a system of public schools in which there were four thousand white children, besides large private schools, which fully met all the demands of that city. To-day it has that same educational plan, and in those schools a fourth of the children are colored, while white are two and one-half colored.

There is an equal division of the school faculty. To-day, that is to say, the city of Charleston has to add to what the State revenue is for schools just as much again. It pays this year \$72,000 in a city of 50,000, in which there are 23,000 whites and 27,000 colored, the colored paying 3 per cent. of the tax. After we have raised the local tax, double what the State gives, we find that we only have four thousand children in school, and we only have in school what we had in 1860 of whites. Men can not enter the schools, then the public schools.

Gentlemen, the tax of a citizen of the city of Charleston to-day is 3.5 per cent.

on every dollar of real and personal property. The city debt of the city of Charleston requires the levy of ten mills. Repudiation we can not go to. There is 1 per cent. levied in that city for the debt of the municipality. Then there is the State debt. When these heavy burdens, by the census and by the report of the superintendent of schools of Boston, Boston we pay on a ratio one-third more than the city of Boston pays for a whole system of education, primary and classical.

We pay to-day one-third more than the city of Boston does in the face of a debt of five millions upon the city of Charleston.

Gentlemen, when his honor the mayor came to the control of that city in the same spirit of zeal and in the same interest that he overlooked the departments, we got at the facts and the figures, and he said it is the duty of the city, sir, to do all that we can to meet our burden, and to reveal to the country this terrible and appalling condition to say to them, here is a national calamity; it is common in its origin to the people of this country; it is equally common in its evils and in its effects. We thought, and the city of Charleston and all the men there think to-day, that the National Government alone can help us—not to do for us, but simply help us in that which we can not do. If the tax goes above 3.5 per cent, it is a dismemberment of society. We simply ask you to hold that, and when we will say to you, we have done all that we can, we will sweep we know not, and I in all defense, do not think that the wisdom here can tell us where it will sweep. We ask you, do not let it overwhelm us and you. We thought and were led to believe that that Government which, under the power of the Constitution, has the right to provide for the public de-

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ference referring to the time of war (for surely that was in the mind of the framers of the instrument) would come to our assistance in this time of emergency.

We were led to believe that that Government which, when the crisis came from the Mississippi Valley under the most awful deluge of the last five decades, sent immediately and within a day aid to those people asking for bread. We were led to believe that that same Government, acting on the same principle, would send to a border country people who, if aided, the world will be the better, aid to that part of the Union in which they are. We were led to believe that that Government which, when pestilence struck the country, in one day raised the means and sent broadsheet over the land saecur where small-pox or yellow fever struck, would send some relief to a more awful pestilence that is working in the body-politic. We were led to believe that that Government which, in its beneficence, looking to the general welfare of the agricultural interests of this land, sends from that agricultural good seed in one day to the laboring husbandman every species and kind of seed, fruit and abundant harvest—that that Government, on that same principle of general welfare, would give us not only good seed but some good seed to plant in this waste.

Gentlemen, it is only because the city of Charleston furnishes you such an example, it is only because I think we feel it an old community, and we know what this thing means and what is threatened at the time; it is only because we are a representative city in that regard of all our Southern communities that I have a speech.

I think, I feel, in fact I know, that it is in the mind and the heart of the assembled representatives here from this land to help. I am sure we have not come and told our simple story in vain. We look for aid, and we expect it, and we trust that from that seed of national aid shall come great and abundant harvests that will overflow here in good government, in peace and prosperity years and years to come.

Hon. B. G. Northrop, secretary of the board of education for Connecticut, so well known for his life-long and very important services in the cause of education, in placing certain valuable statements before the committee urged an immediate appropriation. I read his remarks because he is a New England man, and a representative man, as truly a representative of the opinions and feelings of educators in that portion of the country as any man can be.

Dr. DICKINSON, Mr. Chairman, I now present Hon. B. G. Northrop, secretary of the board of education of the State of Connecticut.

Mr. NORTHROP. I desire to lay on your table, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, a paper containing extracts from the speech made at Atlanta by ex-Governor Brown, of Georgia, before the Senate of the United States, in the speech of Robert C. Winthrop at the Yorktown celebration, and in full a speech of Rev. Dr. Curry, bearing all entirely on this subject. And while I am up may I say that this is not a new measure, but when friends of the measure have pressed it before members of Congress in former years the objection has been "You can not force schools on any community; schools must answer to local public sentiment, and that public sentiment does not exist." But it was the former argument of New England that the people represented by the men from the South as to the interest you have in that paper, I think, a most remarkable demonstration of the interest taken, by the fact that ex-Governor Brown should make such a speech on the eve of his election, and it is a more remarkable fact that on the basis of that speech advocating this measure, advocating free public schools for all classes, he should be elected to the Senate of the United States by so large a majority. It demonstrates the new era in the South. I think that if the plan of giving \$15,000,000 for this object is carried out now it will be worth more than \$20,000,000 will be twenty years hence. The case is urgent; the need is immediate.

I must say that this measure, I am confident, will suit the North as well as the South. I have in this paper I have handed you printed the sentiment expressed by the Connecticut State board of education most heartily, and other expressions of Northern sentiment; and may I mention in the briefest form of other fact that the other day Brown, in making the speech before the Senate, on this subject was advocated ably before our association at its meeting in New York, one year ago, by ex-Senator Patterson, now the superintendent of education in New Hampshire. He advocated then that the money should be distributed by a large number of Federal officers in all the States. That met but one dissent at that meeting a year ago; that is to say, a majority of this association seemed to favor his plan, but one objecting. At this meeting every member of the association has expressed his views in favor of the plan of distributing the money through existing local officers. We are a unit on that point.

The resolution of the Connecticut State board of education referred to is as follows:

Resolved, That in view of the necessity of education to the perpetuity of free institutions, and of the great and disproportionate burden which adequate provision for universal education would impose on some of the Southern States, this association expresses its conviction that it is the imperative duty of the National Government to extend to those States in which the burden and the danger of illiteracy are greatest such pecuniary aid as shall enable them to provide for the education of their children and youth within their borders shall receive at least an elementary education.

The State board of education has formally expressed "its hearty approval of the sentiments of the above resolution, and its earnest hope that the influence of Connecticut in the National Congress and elsewhere may be exerted in favor of the adoption of some equitable and efficient means for the accomplishment of the end proposed."

The following letter is in reply to one addressed to Colonel Rogers, superintendent of public schools of New Orleans, by myself, in which, mentioning the fact that Dr. Bicknell, one of the most able, active, and earnest advocates of national aid to public schools, had understood him to say that he should not know what to do with a large sum if he had it, and that it might be lost or stolen, I requested him to present his views in full for publication. I ask the Secretary to read his answer. He has given his life to this work in Louisiana.

The Secretary read as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, March 6, 1881.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 3d instant is just to hand, and I hasten to reply. My friend Colonel Bicknell has evidently mistaken my views in regard to national aid for education. Our conversation upon the subject was fragmentary and of a personal character. So far as I can recall the words used by me they had no reference to the main issue, but were incidental to a feature of the subject, designed to show the necessity for a cautious, well-regulated, systematic expenditure of a large sum of money in a large city where school attendance was voluntary, and where the object was to bring the large class of children who are now beyond school influences. I certainly never intended to intimate, directly or indirectly, that if any part of this national aid was to be expended

in Louisiana by our State and city authorities it would, by reason of such form of dispensation, or conduct for which it was wanted or stolen?

Officially I can only speak for New Orleans. In twenty-five years past connected with educational works in this city I can not be entirely ignorant of the condition of affairs in other parts of the State.

For several years I have had a growing conviction that if we are to give public education to all classes of our educable population we must have outside aid from some source. I believe that this is the opinion of the great majority of persons more familiar with the situation than those who are engaged in educational work. I have no statistics of education in the State of Louisiana. You are furnished with the statistics of illiteracy. It is not necessary to repeat them here. They are not mythical. Those who are engaged in the work of education know that illiteracy is a present factor, and that statistics simply reveal how much is done or not done, and how insufficient are the means at our command.

Our school population in New Orleans between 6 and 18 years of age was 61,456 by census of 1880. For the year preceding December 31, 1881, the whole number of pupils enrolled in our public schools was 24,401; average daily attendance, 14,566; average roll, 17,027. Our school population has increased, while school attendance has diminished. For the current year our total enrollment will not exceed 17,000, and our average attendance will fall short of 13,000 pupils. Estimating the number of children in private and parochial schools in this city at 10,000, we have the number of children in our public schools in industrial pursuit at 10,000—a large estimate—and there are about 36,000 children and young persons of educable years who are not in any school, of whom about 26,000 can not be accounted for as either attending school or industriously employed. We are confronted with the fact that instead of overtaking ignorance, as it exists among the young persons in our midst, we are losing ground, and that to an alarming extent, and our school attendance is not up to the needs of the community.

The chief cause of this decreased attendance arises from the insufficiency of our school revenue. For the proper care and instruction of an average roll of 17,000 children, including cost of supervision, instruction, buildings, supplies, &c., we need an annual expenditure of \$270,000. This implies a session of nine or ten months, necessary in a city system, yearly salaries of employees, &c. Our entire revenue, from all sources, falls short of \$220,000. A constant pressure of financial restriction now prevails, and it is necessary to reduce the usefulness of our schools. Last year, 1882, our session was reduced from twelve to ten months, all teachers having been discharged from service and the schools closed during three important school months. For several years past, the teachers have not been paid for two or three months of the year, and have held our school system together by their unrequited labors during that period.

Mr. BLAIRE. Mr. President, I challenge the history of the world to produce a fact more honorable to humanity than the noble self-devotion of this body of instructors of youth, or more disgraceful to a great people than the neglect of both State and nation which rendered their self-sacrifice necessary.

The Secretary read as follows:

Notwithstanding the fact that the city of New Orleans has entered upon a prosperous era, those who control its finances maintain that they are giving as much to education as can be spared from the general revenues. I do not propose to question the correctness of their statement or the wisdom of their policy. Only I do not understand how they can give as much as they do, when they say they can not give us more. I know also that it follows from this want of money that our schools are not doing all the work which they might otherwise do, and that more and more children are growing up in ignorance and idleness, with stronger inducements to immorality and vice.

We have there three thousand and four thousand colored children in our public schools. They should have the same opportunities and the privileges of the white children. They are instructed by competent teachers, have good buildings, and their condition is as favorable to their progress as any other class of pupils. The city government has not been able, since the war, to increase the amount appropriated in former years to one race only, and as the colored people pay but a small part of the cost of education, it follows that the colored pupils in the schools are mainly instructed at the expense of the whites, and that the children of the whites have the same opportunities to receive an education as the other class. I know of no feeling so antagonistic to the education of the negro as there is in our country, there is a growing opinion, so far as I can judge, in favor of extending to that class of our people the fullest and fairest opportunities. The kindly spirit which characterizes the relation of the two races in this city and State extends to their respective schools. There are no contentions or animosities. Teachers of equal grade are sent sometimes to the schools for colored pupils, or, again, to the whites, and know no difference in the colored pupils not exposed, by their own conduct, to punishment, in funds, in which the white children are not guilty of the same.

We certainly do need aid for public education in the city of New Orleans, and if we had the money we could make good use of it. I believe if its distribution was intrusted to our State and city authorities it would be wisely expended for the equal benefit of all classes and conditions of our school population.

The present system could be strengthened and enlarged. Additional schools could be opened in portions of the city where they are much needed. The city should have a law authorizing the board of education to make arrangements of the city school for school privileges where none exist for either white or black children. Nothing but the want of funds has prevented the board from complying with the requests. Even under our purely voluntary school attendance, I believe that several thousand pupils could be at once, within three months, added to our school attendance if means could be provided for their efficient support, and I think it would follow the reformation that the usefulness and influence of these schools would steadily increase, so that we would be able to reduce the bulk of illiteracy by permanent progress in the intelligence and virtue of all classes of society.

So far as the condition of public education in Louisiana, outside of New Orleans, is concerned, it seems to me of even greater importance that we should have outside assistance if we propose to make any advance in overtaking illiteracy. The total school population of the State, according to the last published report of the Superintendent, E. H. Fay, the attendance in all the school districts of the State, including the parish and city of Orleans, in 1880, was: Whites, 31,642; colored, 22,670; total, 54,312, or less than 20 per cent. of the school population. Outside of New Orleans, in 57 parishes, there were 819 schools with 16,226 white children and 17,075 colored children. The average salary of teachers was \$35.62 per month. Six parishes reported, "No schools for want of funds." Nineteen parishes had reported the absence of 3 months or less. The aggregate of all the schools reported from the parishes was 141.

In 1881 there was an increase in the whites and a decrease in the number of colored pupils. The last legislature, 1882 (we have biennial sessions), appropriated one mill on the dollar for public education. Upon unassessed valuation of the property of the State of \$200,000,000, this would give, if all collected, \$200,000. Under the State constitution and legislative enactments this school fund is charged with certain specific appropriations aggregating about \$100,000, all of which must be paid out of the school fund from the public schools. After these deductions and allowing for the non-collection of taxes, we estimate the amount allowed for free public education at about 31 cents per

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capita on school population. The amount is too small, and we are looking to the next session of the Legislature, May next, for a more liberal policy.

Nevertheless, we are not confident of any very great increase in our school appropriations. A constitutional amendment, to be voted by the people, may be necessary before there can be an efficient school system for the State. The power to impose a local tax for education must be given to the people. At the present time, the public school system of the two races are such that a system of public instruction which is intended to meet the wants of the entire educable population, and which shall be sustained by a revenue derived from the property of the State, is beyond all present possibilities. Such a tax could never be imposed with the consent of the people. It could not be collected, if authorized, without breaking down every industry, and virtually confiscating the property of every planter and merchant in the State. To give the necessary instruction to 200,000 young persons in the primary branches of a common-school education would require 5,000 teachers and an expenditure of a million dollars.

The friends of education do not contemplate a scheme so impracticable. We know that time and patient effort are needed to build up any great enterprise. We think that it is possible to strengthen and enlarge our present system of public schools, and to do this in the way of ultimately accomplishing the great objects which it contemplates.

What would national aid do for Louisiana?

It would enable parish school boards to open schools where there are none now for want of funds. It would prolong the session of schools which are now kept open for one, two, or three months only. It would draw large numbers of children from idleness and ignorance to the school buildings, and it would enable school boards and other authorities to employ trained, competent teachers, who should be paid reasonable salaries with a regularity and promptness which secures cheerful and skillful service.

In rural parishes the services of young persons over 12 years of age are useful to the planter during several months of the year. From four to six months may be devoted to systematic school work, and if this should be continued only four or five years the seeds of a better life would be planted, and important results would follow. The individual would be educated, and to a certain extent educated, during the period named, ability to read and write; to understand and perform the ordinary examples of arithmetics as needed in common business transactions; to know something of the geography and history of the country; to acquire habits of order and industry; to distinguish between right and wrong in the duties of life, with such moral lessons as grow out of every well-regulated school room.

When opportunities for securing these results are within the reach of all classes—the poorest and lowest, as well as of the children of the more favored classes—we may reasonably expect a useful, honorable, and an intelligent citizenship.

Without education, we have unskilled labor, a discontented class of society, thriftless, heedless, with brutal passions and degrading vices, ready, when roused by chauvinism or demagogism, to hurl against the peace of society or the best institutions of the country a compact and powerful voting minority which always holds the balance of power between the two great political parties of the country.

At no period in the history of Louisiana has there been manifested a greater interest in the subject of education than at the present time. This, I believe, is generally conceded by the legal public men of the State. The subject enters largely into the political canvass. An educational society has been formed in New Orleans, which already covers a large portion of leading merchants and representatives of all trades and professions. Branch organizations have been established throughout the State. The fundamental principle of the society is free public education to all classes of children without distinction of race. We hope, by means of aroused public sentiment, to secure for public schools their full share of the resources of the State, but I imagine that the most sanguine friends of public education can not hope to materially change the figures of illiteracy, now resting upon the good name and welfare of the State, without the use of more abundant means than can be now drawn from the government or the people of Louisiana in the present condition of public and private affairs.

Asking to be excused for the length of this communication, I remain, dear sir,
Yours, respectfully,

WILLIAM O. ROGERS,

Superintendent Public Schools New Orleans.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR,
United States Senate.

Mr. BLAIR. On Saturday, February 16, 1884, a joint session of the Senate and House committees having in charge the subject of national aid to schools was held in the room of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Dr. Orr and a committee of the superintendents of public instruction of the States, Dr. Thomas W. Bicknell, president of the National Educational Association; Professor Painter, and others, composing a committee of the department of superintendence of the National Educational Association, were present, and addressed the committee for four hours.

The proceedings are published in Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 55, Forty-eighth Congress.

I respectfully refer the Senate to these addresses voicing the universal sentiment of all parts of the country, and coming from some of our ablest, best-informed, unselfish, and patriotic men, whose express business it is to know whereof they speak, deploring this all-pervading national evil of popular ignorance, demonstrating the necessity of national aid, and beseeching, not to say demanding, as our first duty, its bestowal as the only adequate source of relief. It is impossible to attempt even a synopsis here of what they said.

Permit me here to add the memorial of the American Social Science Association, than which the opinion of no body of men whatever is more entitled to respect by the American Congress or the American people.

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,
Boston, December 28, 1882.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

The American Social Science Association, impressed with the danger involved in the existence of a large number of illiterate voters in the population of this country, as revealed in the last census, for the proper enlightenment of which class of voters many of the States are unable to make adequate provision, and believing that a Government resting on the suffrage of the majority of the people can not preserve itself from corrupt influence nor secure a high degree of civil

freedom unless education is generally diffused among all classes of voters; and further believing it to be within the constitutional power of Congress to provide in this manner for the safety of the Republic, and that the enfranchisement of the freedmen imposes an especial obligation upon the Government to qualify them for a safe discharge of the new duties devolved upon them, would earnestly and respectfully recommend that a constitutional amendment be adopted, and that the same be made a law, which would provide for the education of the negroes in the States and Territories, on the basis of literacy, and in such manner as shall not supersede nor interfere with local efforts, but rather stimulate the same and render them more efficient; said money to be distributed under such guarantees as shall secure their application to the object herein named, with equal justice to all classes of citizens.

Prepared by order of the American Social Science Association by the council of the Association.

FRANCIS WAYLAND, President.

F. B. SANBORN, Secretary.

These petitions are not gotten up in the way that petitions are gotten up for a new highway. They are signed by men whose signatures are meant to indicate responsibility.

Rev. Dr. Curry, the general agent of the trustees of the Peabody fund, whose services to the country in the discharge of a great trust have already fixed his rank high among its benefactors, has addressed a memorial to the Congress, which I take this means of placing more conspicuously before the Senate and the public. I am at a loss to comprehend the motives which can refuse the necessary assistance to educate the classes for whom Dr. Curry, in his representative and personal capacity, makes this argument and appeal. I ask the Secretary to read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your petitioner, the general agent of the Peabody education fund, would respectfully represent:

That in March, 1880, the trustees of the Peabody education fund submitted a memorial to Congress on "the vital necessity of national aid for the education of the colored population of the Southern States, and especially of the great masses of colored children, who are growing up to voters under the Constitution of the United States." They accompanied their memorial by a report which had been prepared by a committee of that body, consisting of Hon. Alexander H. T. Smith of Virginia, Chief Justice Morris, and R. W. Water of Ohio, and W. H. M. Evans, of New York. The attention of Congress is invited anew to that very able and conclusive paper. Since the presentation of that memorial the subject of national aid has assumed larger proportions in the public mind and in the public conscience.

The census of 1880 expresses a fearful amount of illiteracy in the United States. As such it is not needed, for no obvious reason, that illiteracy is so largely, disproportionately, in the lately slaveholding States. In *ante bellum* days the negroes were not educated. Since the abolition of slavery—a fact which no sane man would undo—the South, although making patriotic and self-sacrificing efforts in that direction, has failed, as all families with her pecuniary condition could have foreseen, to provide universal education for her people. The history of our country, profiting in instances of exalted patriotism and ready adaptation to local needs, has led to the recognition of the fact that the South, superior to the attempt of the Southern States to meet the unfamiliar and difficult but cheerfully assumed, obligation of giving rudimentary instruction to all classes, irrespective of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The history of public schools in those States is a chapter of peculiar interest in the general history of our institutions and civilization. The credit due to an impoverished people bravely struggling to do their part in the new and strange environment, should be given to the statesmen and millions of the South, who, comprehending the needs of the young, have generously and magnificently contributed money to supply them with the means of education. Hard experience has demonstrated the inability of the Southern States, unaided, to sustain the heavy burden of universal education. If illiteracy is to be removed, or prevented in the future, the States must receive liberal and prompt aid from the General Government.

This aid should be rendered in co-operation with the school systems of the States. These systems, varying in details, but generally copied from the systems which exist in the Northern States, are the outgrowth of the convictions of the people. Year by year they are being adapted to the wants and peculiarities of communities and States. Constitutions command free schools; statutes establish and provide for them; State and local officers administer; State revenues are increasingly supplemented by local taxation. No organization, opposition to public schools, or pedagogic, financial, or other difficulties, can be expected to sustain and perfect; press associations approve and newspapers give their valuable support; Legislatures invite educators and advocates of free schools to address them; the people are willing and eager to be informed and to adopt improved methods of instruction and school management. With probably the most extensive acquaintance with school officers in the South possessed by any in the Union, acquired by personal intercourse with them, I make bold to assert that a strong Federal government, in her capacity of more patriotic, more trustworthy, more enlightened administrators, What is needed for success in making education universal is not severe Federal supervision, subordination of State schools to central authority, but a well-guarded and adequate appropriation of public money.

Of the extent of the illiteracy among your honorable bodies, having ready access to the latest census, and to care for the education of schools, statistics need not be given. On the subject of this illiteracy I have had abundant opportunity to learn. The basis of our free governments is intelligence and integrity. Free government presupposes intelligent self-government. The mere possession of power by the people is no assurance, or guarantee of good government. Civil government can dispense with arbitrary restraints and with physical power; can allow the possession and enjoyment of personal liberty just in so far as the citizens impose, voluntarily and intelligently, restraints upon themselves. Free government, the highest measure of individual freedom, are compatible only with popular education. It is idle to hope for free government or republican institutions apart from free schools.

From the act of the Continental Congress on the 20th of May, 1785, for the disposition of the lands ceded by Virginia and the other States, to the present time the United States, excepting the principle of the right of homestead, has been the only safe and stable basis for popular liberty, and to the policy of using Government property in aid of public schools. What was a privilege and duty in the past has now become an imperative obligation. The general argument for Congressional intervention to remove or prevent illiteracy becomes stronger when applied to the negroes. As is stated in the report to which attention has been called, the production of the pen of an honored and venerable statesman of Vir-

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ginia, they are an "exceptional class of our population," and as such have been placed in the category of slaves and serfs.

Their ancestors did not come voluntarily to this country, and their condition, as come the immigrants who by thousands are now flocking to our shores. They were brought forcibly as slaves and were held as such prior to the Revolution by the connivance and direction of the mother country and under the authority of the laws of all the States. When the war for Independence closed slavery existed in all the Colonies. The Federal Constitution sanctioned the institution. In the course of its development, the Federal Government emancipated the slaves, elevated them to the dignity of American citizens, and invested them with the right of suffrage. "Slavery is but half abolished, emancipated but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education." The new citizens need to be made to comprehend the duties of citizenship, to be taught the nature and benefits of the political rights they enjoy. The education and enfranchisement there is on the part of the Government a resulting obligation which is to be suddenly exalted to citizenship and suffrage that amount of education which is necessary to enable them to discharge intelligently the new duties devolved.

Inter arma leyes silent is recognized in times of extreme peril as a legal maxim. When the national life is endangered the Constitution yields to a liberal interpretation. The latitude is not because of war, but because of the crisis which war sometimes creates. If the necessity be as great, the peril as imminent in time of peace as in time of war, the same reason may be invoked in the principle, *sane republika est supremus lex*. That number of the voters constituting a national peril, justifying a resort to the "extreme medicine of the constitution," it would be an insult to your honorable bodies to argue.

The evils of ignorant voting can not be exaggerated. Four Presidents in succession, with increasing emphasis, have invited the attention of Congress to legislation on the subject. State legislatures, educational conventions, religious associations, and private citizens swell the demand for immediate and effective measures of relief.

It seems that each generation must pass through its own trials, as each person must be disciplined for his own improvement and growth. We reap the fruits of the sacrifice and achievements of our ancestors, but for ourselves we must endure trials and meet responsibilities. Our Republic is a holy trust. Much as our fathers did, much the less are we required to do. Free institutions are still an experiment. The greater the trials, the greater the peril is greater, more insidious, more pervasive, grows more the apprehension of the patriot, than the illiteracy of citizens. Fortunately the evil is remediable, and the remedy is in your hands.

Your petitioner earnestly invokes your intelligent and continuous attention to the dangers which come from so much illiteracy, and trusts that action, prompt and adequate to meet the emergency, will be had before your adjournment.

J. L. M. CURRY.

RICHMOND, VA., May 17, 1882.

MR. ELAIR. I may add as a recent expression from Dr. Curry, the agent of the Peabody fund, what he says in a letter:

A letter before me from one of the best scholars and most active school men in the South says: "The argument is unanswerable. Here we stand face to face with the necessity. All over this State the taxes of the white people can not be made to suffice for the education of both white and colored; with the utmost good-will, the resources are deficient. Nothing but national aid can solve the problem, and without it there is great danger that the effort may be abandoned in despair."

That last sentence is unspeakably important. If this Congress adjourns without the aid, I shall almost surrender hope in reference to the future of our country. May God save our land.

The Union League Club of New York city comprises over sixteen hundred of the leading citizens of the United States, residing in all parts of the country. Probably no body of men, unless it were the several loyal sovereign States, did so much as the Union League Club of New York to preserve the Union in time of war, or since the war has done so much to make it worth again preserving by their wise and patriotic endeavors to reconstruct the Government upon principles which are indispensable to its prosperity. I therefore introduce the following from their memorial to Congress, presented to us by Senator MILLER:

THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB, NEW YORK, February 10, 1882.

DEAR SIR: The following report was accepted and the appended resolution unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of the Union League Club, held on the 10th of February, 1882.

We request you to present them to Congress, as being the respectful petition of this club.

Very few subjects equal in importance that of elevating the illiterate voters in the United States to the condition required for the proper enjoyment and protection of universal suffrage.

It appears from the census of 1880 that of the total colored population over 47 per cent are unable to write. Of the total white population nearly 7 per cent. are unable to write. These percentages are much higher in the South. Those unable to write in Alabama are, white, over 17 per cent.; colored, over 63. In Georgia, whites, nearly 16 per cent.; colored, over 51. In North Carolina, whites, over 22 per cent.; colored, over 51. In New Mexico, whites, 49.5 per cent.; colored, 65. In many of the States the means for instruction are confessedly insufficient to cope with this great evil.

The want of education and of consequent ability to use the suffrage so as to protect the voter from fraud, violence, and misdirection, and our free institutions from peril, have caused this introduction into the Senate of the United States of a bill entitled "A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools."

The Secretary of the Interior, through the Bureau of Education, is charged with the administration of the act, aided by a commissioner in each State, to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commissioner is required to consult with the State authorities in which he is located. In Terre Haute this commissioner is charged with the general supervision and control of public education.

All payments under the act are to be made by Treasury warrants directly to the person in each State or Territory who renders service, on vouchers to be approved by the local authorities, the commissioner, and the Secretary of the Interior.

It will be seen, therefore, that the amount payable in any State or Territory can neither be diverted nor squandered, but that careful provision is made for the application of it directly to the purposes of education. The bill is comprehensive as well as guarded, and is to continue only for the length of time supposed to be required for stimulating the most sluggish of the States into the reformatory activity.

The Secretary of the Treasury, with a large annual surplus, tempting to use less schemes of extravagance, would be at full serviceable time for the adoption of a measure to secure the enlightenment of the uneducated and the safety of our republican form of government.

The Constitution, in express terms, provides, section 4, article 4, that "The United States shall guarantee to each State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall make all laws necessary to carry out this guarantee are implied and are therefore complete." The act of the National League Club to endow a large body of illiterate men have been suddenly raised from the condition of chattels into that of freemen and voters, without any preparation for the high duty which admission to the suffrage involves. The extraordinary measures resorted to in States where the danger from this source is most conspicuous, often leading to bloodshed and anarchy, would seem to impose on the General Government the immediate duty of seeing that the republican form of government is not violated. The evolution of the colored people into a free and proper people for this consists in such a wide diffusion of the benefits and blessings of education as will secure the requisite intelligence and patriotism.

The committee of political reform recommend the adoption of the following resolution.

GEO. B. BUTLER, *Chairman*,

S. M. BLATCHFORD, *Secretary*.

Resolved, That the Union League Club heartily approves of the scope and object of the bill introduced to the Senate of the United States by the Hon. HENRY W. BROWN, of South Carolina, "A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools," and that the president and secretary of the club be directed to affix their names to this report and resolution as being the respectful petition of the club to the Congress of the United States in favor of the passage of the bill.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully,

WM. M. EVARTS, *President*,

DAVID MILLIKEN, JR., *Secretary*.

To the Hon. WARNER MILLER.

I wish to say, as bearing upon the expression of popular feeling and opinion on this subject, that I have here a large number of data of memorials which themselves are so large that, if all printed, I suppose the world would not contain the books they would make, as was said on another occasion. It seems almost trifling with the time of the Senate to accumulate this mass of evidence of popular feeling to be inserted in the RECORD. It is here, and it is ready to be produced if anybody should ever conceive the thought that there is no expression of the general popular, and that the best popular, sentiment on this subject.

The following is an imperfect list of the petitions and memorials praying for aid for the common schools on the basis of illiteracy:

Citizens of Romney, W. Va.

One hundred citizens of Circleville, W. Va.

Citizens of Jackson County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Nicholas County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Webster County, West Virginia.

Resolution of the Legislature of Rhode Island.

Citizens of Ohio.

Citizens of Spring Hill, Kans.

Citizens of Mound Valley, Kans.

Citizens of Jefferson County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Lewis County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Wayne County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Monongahela County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Marion County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Upshur County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Mason County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Morgan County, West Virginia.

Telegram from the Saratoga educational convention.

Citizens of Elmore County, Alabama.

Citizens of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama.

Citizens of Marion County, Alabama.

Citizens of Calvert County, Alabama.

Citizens of Fayette County, Alabama.

President of the board of education and many prominent citizens of Nashua, N. H.

Memorial of the National Educational Association.

Memorial of the State officers and nearly every prominent citizen in the State of South Carolina.

Petitions of citizens of Louisiana.

Petition of citizens of Tishomingo County, Mississippi.

State board of visitors of Rutgers Agricultural College, New Jersey.

Citizens of Edgecombe County, North Carolina.

Citizens of Drew County, Arkansas.

Citizens of Wythe County, Virginia.

Citizens of Gilmer County, Georgia.

Citizens of Franklin County, Ohio.

Citizens of Marion County, Ohio.

Faculty of Hiram College, Ohio.

Citizens of Medina County, Ohio.

Governor and all the State officials of Ohio.

Mayor and city officials of Portsmouth, N. H.

Citizens of Grafton County, New Hampshire.

Citizens of New London, N. H.

Petition of citizens of Franklin County, New Hampshire.

Petition of President of Johns Hopkins University *et al.*

Memorial of the American Social Science Association.

Citizens of Merrimack County, New Hampshire.

Petition of the faculty of Straight University, of Louisiana.

Petition of the citizens of Iowa.

Resolution of the Louisiana Legislature.

Memorial of the Union League Club, New York.

Petition of citizens of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.

Petition of citizens of Saint Louis, Mo.

Petition of citizens of Monroe City, Ill.

Resolution of Teachers' Institute of South Carolina.

I have collected citations from high authorities, and historical illustrations, bearing upon the necessity of education, especially in a republic. They are from authors of other nations as well as our own. Many of them are of high literary merit. They are good reading. I will read a few of them. Before proceeding to do so, I wish to make one statement as bearing on the interests of education in our Southern States by reason of the liberation of the colored people. The historical example nearest our shores, that of the liberation of the blacks in

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the British West India colonies, might well be adduced, and should be instructive to us. There the British Government, more considerate, perhaps, than our own, gave pecuniary compensation to the extent of about \$10,000,000, if I remember correctly, to the owners of the emancipated slaves. No provision, however, was made for the education and the elevation of the colored people. They have had freedom so far as it could exist under the British constitution, and they have had degeneracy and demoralization accompanying it. Without wasting time to depict the causes of the social condition and industrial condition of those people, I will state one fact which is significant of almost everything else that could be said, that such is the social degradation of that people that most social ties are disregarded, poverty is universal, and over 60 per cent. of the annual increase of the population is illegitimate. Let me quote from the American Cyclopaedia, volume 15, page 17:

The government measure was brought forward April 23, 1833. It proposed an apprenticeship of twelve years for the slaves, and to pay out of their earnings to the masters the sum of £15,000,000. The friends of emancipation remonstrated against these features of the plan, and it was finally modified by a reduction of the term of apprenticeship to six years, and a provision to pay the masters £20,000,000, instead of £15,000,000. The bill passed the house of commons on August 7, the house of lords August 20, and received the royal assent August 28, 1833. The day fixed for emancipation was August 1, 1834, and it was left optional with the local legislatures respectively to adopt or reject the system of apprenticeship. Antigua and Bermuda rejected, while the other islands adopted, the system. The apprenticeship system did not work well.

It ought to be known and is known that like causes produce like effects. It is well known to those who have taken pains to be informed by evidence coming to them, though they may never have been in the Southern States themselves, and I have some personal observation that has instructed me, so that I am convinced of the fact, that the general condition of the colored population in very much the larger geographic proportion of the South is growing worse rather than better. The colored population when disciplined by their former legal status were much more industriously inclined than the youthful colored population that is now growing up. The colored youths now are not so quiet and good-natured and easily managed and tractable a race of men as the Northern people are inclined to think. I believe that they are rapidly becoming demoralized, an idle, thriftless population, with a tendency to violence, and likely to become a source of as much danger to the United States as a population like this described in Jamaica can be. They increase much more rapidly from natural causes than does the white population.

By the last census it is shown that they increase 7 per cent. more rapidly than does the white population of the whole country from immigration and births combined. While increasing in numbers, in my belief they are not improving in condition. In twenty-five years from now this Southern colored population, unless something is done to restrain, improve, and elevate them, are quite likely to be a source of violence and of turmoil in this country. Those who think otherwise, I imagine, will find themselves profoundly mistaken, and it is well enough to be instructed by historical examples when they exist.

I can not take the time of the Senate a great length in reading the citations from eminent men which I have made; but I will read a few in regard to national education. Macaulay in his speech on education uses this language:

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This, then, is my argument. It is the duty of government to protect our persons and property from danger. The gross ignorance of the common people is a principal cause of danger to our persons and property. Therefore it is the duty of the government to take care that the common people shall not be grossly ignorant.—*Macaulay's Speech on Education*.

The education of the people is not only a means, but the best means, of obtaining that which all allow to be a chief end of government.—*Ibid.*

Another great authority says:

When we see government measures, which are excellent in themselves, fail from the opposition of an ignorant people, we at first feel irritated against the senseless multitude; but when we come to reflect, when we observe that this opposition is not the result of a natural aversion to government, but of the exercise of authority, has taken no steps to prepare the minds of the people to dissipate their prejudices, to conciliate their confidence—our indignation is transferred from the ignorant and deceived people to its disdaining leaders.—*Jeremy Bentham's Works*, volume 1, page 568.

Let me give further citations:

Ignorance causes poverty.

By diminishing productive capacity, and therefore wealth.

Intelligence is a most powerful factor in industrial efficiency. The intelligent is more useful than the untrained laborer: (a) Because he requires a far shorter apprenticeship. * * * (b) Because he can do his work with little or no superintendence. * * * (c) Because he is less wasteful of materials * * *. (d) Because he readily learns to use machinery, however delicate or intricate.—*Walker's Political Economy*, pages 52, 53.

By hindering improvement.

In some parts of the country the ignorance of the people of almost everything beyond their huts and cottages, and their simple wants, of moral judgment, and of that energetic and progressive spirit which advancement in education is apt to bring, has hitherto been one of the greatest hindrances to the progress of the country. With this ignorance there has often been coupled superstition, and a tendency to indolence, increasing poverty, distress, and discontent.—*The Irish Question*, by King, pages 223, 234.

II. Ignorance causes poverty.

Illustration from Scotland and Ireland in 1800-'10:

I am persuaded that the extreme profligacy, improvidence, and misery which are so prevalent among the laboring classes in many countries are chiefly to be

ascribed to the want of education. In proof of this we need only cast our eyes on the condition of the Irish, compared with that of the peasantry in Scotland. Under the same government, in the same country, which holds the Island of Scotland, on the contrary, under the disadvantages of a worse climate and more unproductive soil, a degree of decency and comfort, the fruit of sobriety and industry, are conspicuous among the lower classes. And to what is this disparity in their situation to be ascribed, except to the influence of education? In Ireland the education of the poor is miserably neglected; very few of them can read, and they grow up in a total ignorance of what it most befits a rational creature to understand. While in Scotland the establishment of free schools in every parish, and the gradual branching of the educational institutions of the country, brings the means of instruction within the reach of the poorest, who are thereby inured to decency, industry, and order.—*Robert Hall's Works*, 1, 201, 202. (1810.)

II. Ignorance causes demoralization,

Illustration from Rome:

But we must look beyond the political institutions of Rome, and seek in her social condition the primary causes of the fall of the republic. * * * There were many and the different classes of society in common interests and sympathies, and they had a common sense of the importance of their mutual existence. Without a middle class, industrious, orderly, progressive, and contented, society was broadly into the rich and the poor. And in the later days of the republic both were corrupted. The rich became more covetous and grasping. * * *

The poorer classes were no less demoralized citizens and depositaries of political power. Pauperized by bounties of grain; corrupted by bribery; debased by the influence of the military; and with a worse than servile; without regulated industry; disunited by the confusion of many nationalities; and unsettled by incessant wars and revolutions, they were wanting in all the elements of a sound democracy.—*May's Democracy in Europe*, I, pages 225, 226, 227.

Illustration from France:

The peasants, suffering from want and resenting the oppression of the feudal lords, revolted in the different parts of France in 1830; they burned and massacred, murdered by women, and committed the most frightful outrages upon women and children. * * * and in later times the like passions were to be revealed in excess no less monstrous and unnatural.—*May's Democracy in Europe*, II, pages 91, 92. See also, *Taine's Ancient Regime*, pages 374-38.

II. 4. Poverty causes demoralization.

Illustration from Rome:

The mind itself can scarcely comprehend the wide range of the mischief—how constant poverty and insult long endured, as the natural portion of a degraded race, bear with them the suffering, the suffering yet worse, pain, whether physical or mental, the feelings of which they daily experience, the loss of all the moral; how ignorance and ill-treatment combined are the parents of universal suspicion; how from oppression is produced habitual cowardice, breaking out when occasion offers into merciless cruelty; how slaves become naturally liars; how they, whose condition denies them all noble enjoyments, and to whom looking forward is only despair, plunge themselves, with a brute's recklessness, into the lowest sensual pleasures; how the domineering wife itself, the last sanctum of virtue, becomes a persecutor, a tyrant, and a murderer; and in the pale, pale and affected and parental care, there is to be seen only selfishness and unkindness, and no other anxiety on the part of parents for their children than that they may, by fraud or by violence, prey in their turn upon that society which they have found their bitterest enemy. Evils like these long working in the heart of a nation render their own cure impossible; a revolution may execute judgment on one generation, and that perhaps the very one which was beginning to see its fruits; but the next, and the next, and the next, and the next, life to the morally pure rise in regeneration. During a whole week there is anarchy in the greatest and most populous European cities, &c.

The cause was the ignorance of a population which had been suffered, in the neighborhood of palaces, theatres, temples, to grow up as rude and stupid as any tribe of tattooed cannibals in New Zealand—I might say as any drove of beasts in Smithfield market.—*Macaulay's Speech on Education*.

II c. A discouraged person is useless and may become desperate.

His industrial power is small.

A fifth reason for the higher efficiency of the laborers of one class or nation than of another is found in greater cheerfulness and hopefulness, growing out of a higher self-respect and social ambition and a more direct and certain interest in the product of industry.—*Walker's Political Economy*, page 54.

Fear is far less potent than hope in evoking the energies of mind or body, while efforts made under the influence of the former passion are far more exhausting than those made under the influence of the latter.—*Ibid.*

Discouragement may result in desperation [French revolution].

The feeling of hatred in the French peasant at the time of the revolution, 1791, was become too strong to be appeased, because here too it was mixed with intense suspicion, the result inevitably of suffering and ignorance, and nothing but the overthrow of those against whom it was directed could have satisfied it.—*Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, page 390.

III. Ignorance causes immorality.

Because its opposite, knowledge, elevates.

But to return to the moral good which results from the acquisition of knowledge, it is chiefly this, that in multiplying the mental resources it has a tendency to exalt the character, and in some measure to correct and subdue the taste for gross sensuality.—*Hall's Works*, 1, 200.

Results of ignorance.

Where education has been neglected, or improperly managed, we see the worst passions ruling with uncontrollable and incessant sway. Good sense degenerates into folly, and anger rankles into malignity. Restraint, which is thought most salutary, comes too late, and the most judicious admonitions are urged in vain.—*Dr. S. Parr.*

III. Ignorance causes immorality.

Ignorance vs. Education in Switzerland.

Neither in Switzerland nor in other countries do we find ignorance and poverty united with high moral qualities. In some of the cantons, however, where education is diffused, and industry and commerce have been the sources of wealth, the people are contented and happy.—*Dean's History of Civilization*, VII, 108, 109.

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Injuries from ignorance.

The laboring class, for instance, will have no mobility [if uneducated], will be in the power of the employer, will have no hope of bettering its condition of life by change of place, will be given to low pleasures. Crime and ignorance go together, and the prospect for the children of such a class is dark indeed. For the industry, morals, loyalty, and quiet of this class, for the safety of all classes some kind of education is necessary.—*Woolsey's Political Science*, I, page 227.

II. 2. Immorality causes degeneration. National degeneration comes from loss of character.

But this political ruin [of the Roman Empire] was an effect of a moral ruin, not a first cause; and a nation that has lost its character must decay politically until some new condition of the world quickens it again into life.—*Woolsey's Political Science*, II, page 60.

Fruits of long-continued moral advance.

There are certain moral fruits so conspicuous in the history of civilization that no pessimist can dispute them. That the long, slow movements in society which have been tending with steady purpose and sure result to establish order and the reign of equal laws; to extinguish slavery; to break oppression of every form; to mitigate the barbarities of war, and to put restraints upon it; to diminish human suffering; to help the unfortunate, and to lift the debased to civilization; the cosmopolitan character of the spirit of co-operation among men; that the movements which bear this ripening fruitage are moral movements; that it is impossible to deny.—*J. N. Larned in Popular Science Monthly*, XI, 519.

IV. Ignorance causes error in judgment and conduct.

By opening the people to evil influences.

Nothing in history renders legitimate governments so insecure as extreme ignorance in the people. It is this which yields them an easy prey to seduction, makes them the victims of prejudices and false alarms, and so ferocious with that their interference in a time of public commotion is more to be dreaded than the eruption of a volcano.—*Robert Hall's Works*, volume I, page 203.

By deceiving him as to his interest in his neighbor.

The less instructed a man is the more he is led to separate his interests from those of his fellows. The more enlightened he is the more distinctly will he perceive the union of his personal with the general interest.—*Jeremy Bentham's Works*, volume I, page 537.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF BENEFITS FROM EDUCATION.

Athenian intelligence.

Mitford was right enough when he assumed that an English county meeting reached the very height of political ignorance, only he should not have thence leaped to a similar conclusion as to the assembled people of Athens. * * * We suspect that the average Athenian citizen was, in political intelligence, above the average English member of Parliament. It was this concentration of all power in the electorate of which every citizen formed a part which is the distinguishing characteristic of true Greek democracy.—*Freeman's Athenian Democracy*, pages 146, 147.

The education of a lower class in Turkey.

In the vigorous age of the Ottoman Government the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honors, and a servile class, as artificial people, was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command—*Gibbon's Rome*, chapter LXV.

Scotland vs. Ireland.

We have two nations closely connected, inhabiting the same island, sprung from the same blood, speaking the same language, governed by the same sovereign under the same legislature, holding essentially the same religious faith, having the same climate and the same natural resources, a hundred and fifty years ago, as respects opulence and civilization in the highest rank among European communities; the other in the lowest rank. The opulent and highly civilized nation leaves the education of the people to free competition. In the poor and half-barbarous nation the education of the people is undertaken by the State. The result is that the first are last and the last first. The common people of Scotland, it is vain to say, have passed the common people of England, and in education, a decided backwardness has produced effects of which, as the Congregational Union tells us, we ought to be ashamed, and which must lower us in the opinion of every intelligent foreigner. State education, tried under every disadvantage, has produced an improvement to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any age or country.—*Macaulay's Speech on Education*.

WASHINGTON'S VIEWS.

Some views of education entertained by Washington are indicated by provisions inserted in his last will; e. g., he provided that the slaves who had not attained their majority at the time when they were to receive their freedom in accordance with his direction should be taught to read and write and be brought up to some useful occupation. He bequeathed \$1,000 for the education of orphans and the children of the poor in the academy at Alexandria. He gave property for the endowment of a university which should draw to it the youth of all sections, thus preventing their being sent abroad to their injury, and reconciling local prejudices and antagonisms through friendly associations.

What I have read from Robert Hall was written at the beginning of the present century in reference to a status then-existing in Ireland; but it is proper to say that of late years the educational privileges of Ireland have been very greatly improved, as in fact they have been in every European country, until to day the truth is that many of them are passing our own country in the vigilance and intensity of the effort which they are making to educate their own people. Indeed, there is great danger that they will pass us, and pass us before a great while, in the matter of industrial skill, because of the greater attention they are giving to the matter, perhaps growing out of the fact that they have recently discovered the great need of the education which they want, and are making correspondingly vigorous efforts to overcome the prevailing ignorance. They also find that American production paying higher wages is nevertheless competing with them in their own markets, and likely to do so more extensively hereafter in all the markets of the world, and unless their people become educated they will soon be without employment or that form of employment giving productions for exportation to the other and increasing markets of the world. In

other words, the skilled labor of Europe, based upon general education, is coming more and more in competition with the skilled labor of America, and our superior intelligence will not much longer tell to our advantage in this direction.

I close my citations from the writings of eminent men and illustrations drawn from the history of the race by quotations from two remarkable addresses delivered before the National Education Assembly, held at Ocean Grove last August, from the 9th to the 12th, four days, inclusive.

Over sixty addresses were delivered on that occasion by American educators and some others interested in the subject. Thousands of people were in attendance, and all religious denominations nearly were represented.

Rev. J. C. Hartzell, D. D., who was the active organizer of the great work, has published the proceedings in a volume, which I hesitate not to say is of greater practical value than any other work upon the subject of education, and its cognate problems as they exist and require to be dealt with to-day than any, and I had almost said all, other sources of information accessible of which I have knowledge. The book is an encyclopedia in one volume, carefully indexed, and treats exhaustively of the following topics: Education and man's improvement; Illiteracy in the United States; National aid to common schools; The negro in America; Illiteracy, wealth, pauperism, and crimes; the American Indian problem; the American Mormon problem; Education in the South since the war; Christ in American education; Tables: Illiterate and educational statistics United States, 1880.

On that occasion, among the sixty, Hon. John Eaton, Commissioner of Education, delivered an address, which was full of meat, and of good meat, too. I wish to read a little from it, not his comments and philosophy, but statements of fact. I read from page 49:

But we must not pause here; we must look at the reverse side. New England to-day has but 1 college student, male and female, to every 167 families; whereas at the end of the first twenty-three years of New England history, or when there were 20,000 souls in the settlements, there was 1 university graduate to every 40 families. May we not say that hence came such wisdom in laying the foundation of those States? When will the educated classes anywhere attain the same relation to the whole body of the people?

But again, this statement upon the public schools there is the non-attendance of 3,751,757. Allowing that these odd hundred thousand are in private schools that are not reported, there remain 5,000,000 of children of school age untaught. To furnish these sittings in buildings, at the usual average of \$20 per sitting, would cost a hundred millions in money; to furnish them teachers would require an increase 30,000 to the teaching corps, and a single year's preparation of these teachers at the average rate in New York would cost \$10,000,000.

But of these 30,000 additional teachers for one year of ten months, at the rate of \$32 a month, which is about the average throughout the country, would amount to \$9,000,000. Add to this the items for preparation and school-house sittings necessary for these non-attending school children, and you have the grand total required for the first year of \$12,000,000.

There has been an attempt to raise a laugh at the proposition of the honorable Senator LOCATE to appropriate \$10,000,000 for education, but I give you my word upon my honor that it is calculated, showing that his proposition falls \$9,000,000 short of the sum which would be required to furnish for a single year all our school children now without school sittings and teachers.

Referring to myself he says:

Mr. Senator BLAIR, in his examination of this point in his recent speech, considering that Texas has a school period of only six years, states that if the school life were properly lengthened in that and other States the number reported will double, and accommodations and without teachers would be increased by three millions.

In methods we are accustomed to expect the best teachers, best school-houses, best methods, and best supervision; but lawmaking attendance obligatory are wanting in more than half of the States, and, on an average, two-fifths of the children are not enrolled in the schools. Here we are forced upon us the terrible problems encountered in older civilizations and more dense populations.

* * * * *

The fifteen States and the District of Columbia, where slavery prevailed, having a total white school population of 3,839,961, having 2,215,071 enrolled in schools, and with a colored school population of 1,803,337 had 781,739 enrolled, and expended \$12,435,044. This money, it should be remembered, is divided pro rata, without distinction of color, in all States excepting Kentucky and Delaware. In the former State the colored people have had for educational purposes the benefit only of the income of the tax upon their own property and polls and specified fines and forfeitures. By an act of the last Legislature, however, provision was made to supply the colored people with schools, and to impose a tax upon property for educational purposes, uniting this and the amount from the previous provisions for education, and distributing the whole pro rata per capita. In Delaware, \$2,500 are now appropriated for the colored schools. What has thus been accomplished in these States for education may be taken as a pledge of what they will do.

* * * * *

To which great agency can you assign the additional burden of educating these literates? To the family. How great the duties of the mother, cultured and best conditioned, and educated, to educate their children, as far as their own or any desire, and among those colored people the least supplied with school sittings, how widely is the family a minus quantity as a factor in promoting the improvement of the young? Shall we then look to the church for the light to overcome this darkness? How inadequate are the resources of the church in the South to supply sittings and preachers for the special function of declaring the gospel? How generally and they in fact? What appeals are they compelled to make to their friends in other sections? Shall we then think of the South, already impoverished and loaded with taxes and embarrassed by question of repudiation? In reply, let me invite attention to the fact that the taxable real and personal property reported for assessment in those States is given in round numbers as \$3,579,000,000, while the real and personal property in New York and New Jersey alone is worth nearly an equal amount, or \$3,292,000,000.

What would the people of these two States say to an additional assessment on their property to meet the expense of educating and supporting all the teachers for the instruction of the millions of illiterates in the South? All are familiar with the sensitiveness in the several Northern States to the assessment of any additional tax for education or any other purpose, and there the total

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Wealth, as assessed is reported as \$18,065,000,000, or nearly ten billions more than in the South.

It should be remembered, in addition to the short period in which schools are already taught in the South, that there are 2,702,835 children of age not enrolled for instruction. Take another comparison: Charleston, S. C., now levies a tax of three mills on a dollar; but to furnish the children of that State a fair approach to the instruction given those in Massachusetts would require a tax on the property of the State of nearly three cents on the dollar. This the friends of education in Massachusetts or any other State would hesitate to propose in their own case.

* * * * *

I must not pause to elaborate these points, but supposing (1) that the labor of an illiterate is increased in value 25 per cent, by teaching him to read and write, 50 per cent, by fairly educating him, and 75 per cent, by giving him a thorough training; and that the average value of the labor of illiterates is the same as the average wages paid employees in manufactures, then the following computations give sound conclusions.

By the census of 1880, the number of persons of twenty-one years and upward in the Southern States who were unable to write was 2,984,287. If 75 per cent, of them should be taught to read and write, it would increase the value of the labor of 2,233,290 persons 25 per cent. The present value of their labor is, approximately, \$241,727,230. The increase of value would be equivalent to a sum of \$50,434,325, or 20 per cent, of the present value. If 50 per cent, of the illiterates should be fairly educated, it would increase the value of the labor of 417,658 persons 50 per cent, or from \$245 to \$372 a year each. The total of this annual increase would be \$35,509,532. If the remaining 10 per cent, of illiterates should have the value of their labor increased 75 per cent, by being thoroughly trained, the industrial value of 298,133 persons would be raised from \$248 to \$343 a year each, a total of \$35,509,654. By adding these three amounts together, we find that the increase which would come to the industrial value of illiterates in the Southern States would be, were they educated as indicated, \$241,727,230 a year.

A regular computation may be made for the entire country. The average annual wages paid by manufacturers is \$345. The number of persons 21 and over unable to write is 1,294,263. By teaching 75 per cent, of these to read and write, the number of 816,223 persons whose value is increased in value from \$345 to \$431 a year, or a total sum of \$321,832 each year. The gain to the country in educating 15 per cent, (\$30,651) of the illiterates so that their labor would be increased 50 per cent, in value would be \$108,737,815. The same amount would be gained by so training the remaining 10 per cent, of illiterates that their labor would be of 75 per cent, more value; and the total annual profit to the country by the conversion of illiterate into educated labor would be, according to the premises assumed, as follows of computation, \$849,757,022 a year.

Now, I submit to you that education is a most profitable investment for both labor and capital.

Omitting any reference to the influence of illiteracy during minority, or any bearing of the illiteracy of the female adults, the late census shows us that there is a great army of 1,870,216 adult males or voters who can not write, an army nearly double that ever in the field during the late deplorable civil war. You will certainly excuse me from any delineation of the horrors of the devastation, and the efforts of their united and concentrated efforts against the peace and order of society.

I simply call your attention to what may be the injurious effect of their silent action at the polls. The members of our respective political parties believe in the rightness of their principles and seek to make their appeal to the reason and consciences of the people; but the figures disclose the alarming fact that in eleven States these illiterate voters outnumbered the votes cast in the last Presidential election of all the other parties. Thus, should they unite under any strong, impetuous, successful leader, they would have absolute control of legislation and offices in those States, and of the election of twenty-two members of the United States Senate.

I turn now to the address of Col. Dexter A. Hawkins, of New York city, who is a prominent lawyer and publicist, an undoubtedly member of the Senate are aware. His address was upon the relations of education to wealth and morality, pauperism and crime. I read only the most pertinent extracts, and would refer any one interested to the entire address.

In 1870 the Commissioner of Education at Washington sent out a series of carefully drawn comprehensive and searching questions to the secretaries of labor of all parts of the United States. These centers were so selected as to represent every kind of labor, from the rudest and simplest up to the most skilled. The object of the questions was to determine the relative productiveness of literate and illiterate labor. I have tabulated, reduced, and generalized the answers so as to get at what seems to me to be the average result over the whole country. This investigation—one of the most interesting ever made—brought clearly to light the following facts:

1. That an average free common-school education, such as is provided in all the States where the free common school has become a permanent institution, adds 50 per cent, to the productive power of the laborer considered as a mere productive machine.

2. That the average academical education adds 100 per cent.

3. That the average collegiate or university education adds from 200 to 300 per cent, to the average annual productive capacity, to say nothing of the vast increase to his manliness—to his godlikeness.

By the census of 1880 we had in the United States 4,204,362 illiterate adults—white and colored.

I read his computation in order to show that independent and most intelligent observers and thinkers arrive at substantially the same conclusion:

Now, putting their labor at the minimum annual value of \$100 each (which is far below the average even for farm labor, while the wages of manufacturing operatives, including 15 per cent, of women and children, as shown by the census of 1880, average in the whole country \$35 each per year), and the annual loss to these 4,204,362 illiterates from their lack of a free common-school education would be \$50 each. This, for the whole number of 4,204,362, is \$210,000,000 per year—a sum twice as large as the entire annual expenditure for public education in the whole country. This sum—\$210,000,000—is a clear annual loss, not only to these illiterates, but to the community, by reason of their illiteracy.

* * * * *

The late slave States complain of their inability to pay the expenses of free common schools, and they raised for public education in 1880 only \$10,883,104. The amount of the annual loss to these States, from their labor being illiterate, is at least \$210,000,000. The exact amount of the laborers over what it is now would—had they been educated, as in Maine and New Hampshire—establish and support free common schools nine months in the year for every child of the school age within their borders, and leave a surplus sufficient to support a free academy in every county and a free college in every State.

A supposition of that kind is very well, but it must be remembered that an existing state of things, where it is the status of human beings,

can not be changed but by long and expensive processes, and that to change the actual condition in these Southern States to the degree of literacy which exists in the ones referred to must necessarily be the work of ten or fifteen or twenty years.

A careful examination of the census of England, Scotland, Ireland, and of the several countries of the continent of Europe will disclose other things being equal, pauperism is in the inverse ratio of the education of the mass of the people; that is, as education increases pauperism decreases, and as education decreases pauperism increases.

In the Grand Duchy of Baden they put into operation in 1851 a rigorous system of universal compulsory education in the elementary branches. The effect in seven years upon pauperism was to reduce it 25 per cent. It has been calculated by statisticians and students of social science that 96 per cent of pauperism could be exterminated by universal compulsory education in the elementary branches of knowledge and industry.

* * * * *

In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, three great central States, where self-support is not difficult, one in ten of the illiterates is a pauper, while of the rest of the population only one in three hundred is a pauper. In other words, in those three great central States a given number of children suffered to grow up in ignorance produce thirty times as many paupers as when given an average common-school education.

In 1870 a special investigation was made, in fifteen States, of the inmates, to the number of 7,398, of almshouses and infirmaries. Of those, 4,327, or nearly 59 per cent, could not read and write; while in those fifteen States the average percentage of illiterates was only 6 per cent of the whole population. From this 6 per cent, came that 59 per cent of the paupers; or, to express it in another form, a given number of children in those fifteen States, suffered to grow up in ignorance, produced twenty-one times as many paupers as the same number of children would if given a fair common-school education.

Similar results may be obtained from the census of almost every country in Europe or America.

We may safely say, then, that it is a general law of modern civilization that an illiterate person is from twenty to thirty times as liable to become a pauper and a charge upon the public as is one with an average common-school education; and that the pauperism of the United States, with its productive power of the illiterates, and in the support of paupers made such a paucity, is nearly, if not quite, equal to the amount that would be required to establish and maintain a free common school the year round in every State in the Union, ample sufficient for the whole fifteen millions of the children of the school age in the United States.

The annual expense of maintaining paupers—96 per cent, of whom have been compelled by lack of proper training while young—is at least ten times as great as would be the expense to the public of giving an education while young to each of these paupers, sufficient to have enabled 94 per cent, of them to support themselves instead of being a charge upon the public.

Education leads naturally to industry, sobriety, and economy; hence it makes one conscious of the benefits resulting from these habits.

Statistics proclaim in no uncertain voice that *education is the surest preventive of pauperism*, and that the best way to prevent pauperism is to provide education.

The first incentive to action is self-support—gaining a livelihood. This is the very basis of personal independence of individual character, respectability, and influence. The key to self-support is education. Money and labor, invested in education, are capital invested in such a manner that the principal is absolutely safe, and the income large, sure, and promptly paid. The States should see to it that a reasonable investment of this kind is made in and for every child as it grows up.

* * * * *

In France, in 1868, one-half of the inhabitants could not read nor write. From this half came 95 per cent, of the persons arrested for crime. From the other, the educated half, came only 5 per cent. In other words, a given number of children, suffered to grow up illiterate, produced nineteen times as many persons arrested for crime as the same number would be if educated, at least to the extent of the elementary branches.

In the Grand Duchy of Baden, from 1851 to 1861—seven years—the government, by its system of universal compulsory elementary education, reduced the number of prisoners actually arrested 51 per cent, and the number of crimes committed 50 per cent.

In the six New England States, in 1870, 7 per cent, only of the inhabitants above ten years of age were unable to read and write; and yet this 7 per cent, produced 80 per cent of the criminals. Or, in other words, a given number of children in New England, when educated to grow up illiterate produced fifty times as many criminals as the same number would if educated to the extent of the curriculum of the public schools. This is a complete vindication of the moral effect of the New England system of public education, Cardinal Antillon to the contrary notwithstanding.

In the State of New York, in 1880, the illiterates produced eight times their pro rata proportion of the criminals in that State; that is, a given number of children brought up illiterate produced eight times as many criminals as the same number of children would have produced if educated to the extent of the curriculum of the public schools.

In the city of New York, in 1870, among the illiterates, one crime was committed for every 3 persons; while among the literates there was only one crime to every 27 persons. Or, in other words, the ignorant class in that city furnishes nine times the criminals they would if educated in the public schools.

In the State of New York, in 1870, among the illiterates, one crime was committed for every 3 persons; while among the literates there was only one crime to every 27 persons. Or, in other words, the ignorant class in that city furnishes nine times the criminals they would if educated in the public schools.

In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, taken together, the illiterates committed ten times as many crimes, according to their numbers, as the literate class.

Take the whole of the United States together, according to the census of 1870, the illiterates committed ten times their pro rata proportion of crimes.

The careful examination of the statistics of twenty States shows the following average results:

First. That one-sixth of all the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly illiterate.

Second. That one-third of the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly or substantially illiterate.

Third. That the proportion of criminals among the illiterate class is, on the average, three times as great as among those who have been instructed in the elements of a common-school education or beyond.

Fourth. That the expense imposed upon society to protect itself against a few thousand criminals, most of whom were made such through the neglect of society to take care of their education when young, is one of the heaviest of the

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public burdens. In the city of New York it is 50 per cent. more than the whole cost of the public schools.

In that city the annual appropriation for police, criminal courts, reformatories, jails, and penitentiaries is over five millions of dollars; while that for the training of the 35,000 school children in the city is only \$3,500,000.

The average attendance at the schools in 1880 was 135,329. The "compulsory school age" is that in the age within which all children are required by law in the State of New York to attend school. The number of children of that age in the city of New York in June, 1880, was 141,474; while the average attendance on the public schools of children of all ages, from five to twenty-one in that year in the city was only 133,096. As a logical consequence of this neglect of education the city jails and almshouses are crammed and taxes are high.

Finally, in its meager provision for education, and its enormous taxation for criminals (to use an old but expressive adage) "saves at the spigot but loses at the bung."

What is true of the metropolis of the country is equally true of every city, town, village, and neighborhood.

These facts could be multiplied almost without limit.

The examination of the statistics of criminality and illiteracy in the census of any civilized state or country will give results substantially in harmony with the above.

Carlyle says that—

"If the devils were passing through my country, and he applied to me for instruction on any truth or fact of this universe, I should wish to give it to him. He is less a devil knowing that three and three are six than if he didn't know it; a light spark, though of the faintest, is in this fact; if he knew facts enough, continuous light would dawn on him; he would (to his amazement) understand what this universe is, on what principles it conducts itself, and would cease to be a devil."

I desire here to introduce a series of tables compiled from various sources, but chiefly from the census of 1880 and from returns gathered by the Bureau of Education. There are sometimes slight variations in the results obtained by different agencies, but their general accord is an indication of their reliability.

Several of the most important are taken from the report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the bill for aid of the Government for educational purposes. I refer to Mr. Willis's report, very lately published; a report without which no examination of the subject will have been exhaustive, and with which no one can consider his sources of information incomplete.

These tables contain the substance of all the statistical matter in possession of the Government necessary for the study of the subject. Upon several of them I have expended considerable labor personally, but to the wise, philosophical, and indefatigable efforts of the Bureaus of Education and of the Census the credit of this mathematical and statistical grouping chiefly belongs.

There is necessarily some repetition of matter in showing different combinations of elements as they relate to different types and propositions, but it is believed that there are important features peculiar to each table, and that the present and future will find this statistical statement one of convenient reference and perhaps of profound study.

These tables are twenty-four in number, and in order to facilitate reference to them I give a résumé of the contents of each.

Table 1. Historical and statistical data of the United States.

Table 2. Showing the area of the several States and Territories containing public lands, and the quantity devoted for educational purposes up to June 30, 1867.

Table 3. Public-school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, prepared by Commissioner of Education. Items too numerous to mention.

Table 4. Showing the total population, school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, length of school | can not read. (Census 1880.)

TABLE 1.—*Historical and statistical data of the United States.*

[Compiled from Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1867.]

States and Territories.	Act organizing Territory.			Act admitting State.			Area in square miles.	Population in 1860. ^a
	U.S.Statutes.	Vol.	Page.	U.S.Statutes.	Vol.	Page.		
ORIGINAL STATES.								
New Hampshire							9,280	226,073
Massachusetts							7,800	1,231,066
Rhode Island							1,306	174,620
Connecticut							4,750	460,147
Nebraska							47,000	3,880,735
New Jersey							8,311	672,035
Pennsylvania							46,000	2,494,115
Delaware							2,120	112,216
Maryland							11,124	687,049
Virginia, East and West							61,352	1,596,318
North Carolina							59,704	902,622
South Carolina							34,000	703,708
Georgia							58,000	1,057,256
STATES ADMITTED.								
Kentucky				Feb. 4, 1791	1	189	37,680	1,155,684
Vermont				Feb. 18, 1791	1	191	610,212	315,098
Tennessee				June 1, 1796	1	491	45,600	1,109,803
Ohio				Apr. 30, 1802	2	173	59,364	2,339,902
Louisiana				Dec. 13, 1812	2	714	141,314	7,902
Indiana		2	231	May 13, 1816	2	339	33,809	1,354,428
Illinois		2	58	Dec. 11, 1834	3	339	47,156	791,395
Mississippi		1	549	Dec. 10, 1817	3	672	553,410	1,711,951
Alabama		2	514	Dec. 3, 1818	3	536	50,722	964,201
Maine		3	371	Dec. 14, 1819	3	608	633,000	628,279

TABLE 1.—*Historical and statistical data of the United States*—Continued.
[Compiled from Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1867.]

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TABLE 3.—*Public school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, &c.—Continued.*

Territories,	School age.	School population.	Enrolled in public schools.	Average daily attendance.	Average duration of school in days.	Expenditure in the year—per capita of pupils enrolled in public schools.	Number of public schools.	Teachers in public schools.	Teachers in private schools. ^a	Pupils in private schools.	Available school funds (per annum).	Permanent school fund, including portions not now available.	Interest on permanent fund including rents of school lands.
Arizona	6-21	7,138	4,212	2,847	100.0		101						
Dakota	5-21	12,030	8,042	3,170	88.0		286						
District of Columbia	6-17	43,538	26,439	20,638	193.0	\$14.87	232	333	1,169	25,000	1,141	\$60,385	\$2,225
Idaho	5-21		6,758				155						
Indian		411,411	35,068	33,941			153	138	1,196				
Montana	5-21	7,471	4,970	2,506	99.0		124	132	1,169				
New Mexico	6-18	42,412	24,325	17,178	128.0		132	147	1,147	1,250			
Utah	6-18	49,672	24,325	19,583	187.5		273	517					
Washington	5-21	62,223	31,632	19,583	187.5		340	560	1,151				
Wyoming	6-21		62,090	61,287			649						
Total for Territories		175,157	101,118	61,154			1,666	2,610	112	6,921			188,584
Grand total		15,803,535	9,789,773	5,801,993			188,701	282,753	13,105	567,160			6,580,632

^a For whites; for colored 6-16. ^b In 1879. ^c In 1875. ^d Census of 1870. ^e In 1873. ^f Estimated. ^g In 1873. ^h In 1877. ⁱ In the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Nations. ^j In the five civilized tribes. ^k In the Indian Territory. ^l In the schools of the Indian Territory. ^m In the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Nations; 153 includes slaves. ⁿ In 1879; exclusive of Philadelphia. ^o Number necessary to supply the schools. ^p Private schools in public buildings. ^q In 1879; exclusive of New Orleans private schools. ^r In 1879; exclusive of Philadelphia. ^s In academies and private schools. ^t Estimated average number of pupils. ^u Includes the United States deposit fund, as reported in 1878, amounting to \$1,014,521. ^v In State and United States 4 per cent, ordered to be sold by the last Legislature. ^w Exclusive of 1,000,000 acres of swamp land made subject to entry sale by last Legislature. ^x Front rents in 1879. ^y State apportionment. ^z Includes revenue from other funds. ^{ff} Apparently does not include interest on the United States deposit funds. ^{gg} State appropriation in lieu of interest on permanent fund. ^{**} As far as reported by State superintendents; accompanying is a more specific report on this point, which approximately exhibits if we exclude the preparatory work done by private normal schools; the number of private institutions, with teachers and pupils in them, giving secondary or superior instruction in each State and Territory.

TABLE 2.—*Showing the area of the several States and Territories containing public lands, and the quantity devoted for educational purposes by Congress up to June 30, 1867.*

[Compiled from Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1867.]

States and Territories containing public lands.	Area of States and Territories containing public lands.	Donations and grants for schools and universities.		Granted for agricultural colleges July 2, 1862. ^a		Granted for deaf and dumb asylums.	Remaining un-sold and unappropriated June 30, 1867.	
		Schools.	Universities.	Selected in place.	Located with scrip.			
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.			
Ohio	39,961	25,575,950	701,485	6,120			500,000	
Indiana	32,949	21,100,000	517,000	46,800			2,000,000	
Illinois	51,110	46,462,400	985,066	46,080			2,000,000	
Missouri	65,250	34,824,000	1,199,039	46,080	244,384,51	147,797,25	1,835,892,71	
Alabama	50,722	32,462,080	902,774	46,080			6,915,081,32	
Mississippi	47,156	30,179,840	837,584	46,080			4,930,895,56	
Louisiana	41,346	26,461,440	786,014	46,080			6,582,841,54	
Michigan	56,151	36,125,610	1,067,397	46,080	225,235,88	960,897,59	5,180,000	
Arkansas	52,828	33,468,720	946,449	46,080			2,697,43	
Pennsylvania	50,268	30,321,520	900,503	92,160			11,737,662,54	
Wyoming	53,043	35,228,800	995,144	46,080	240,000,96	1,760,00	20,924,22	
Louisiana	53,924	34,511,360	978,649	92,160	240,007,73	702,425,07	17,510,374,00	
Wisconsin	188,984	120,947,840	6,719,324	46,080			3,113,464,18	
California	83,531	55,459,810	929,990	46,080	119,852,17	488,863,03	106,062,393,13	
Minnesota	52,271	60,975,360	3,329,706	46,080			36,776,170,89	
Oregon	81,5	32,462,080	902,774	46,080			52,120,896,71	
Kansas	112,600	37,735,711	988,439	46,080	90,000,40	411,569,71	43,148,876,44	
Nebraska	75,295	38,636,800	2,702,041	46,080			67,090,382,62	
Washington Territory	69,994	44,796,160	2,488,675	46,080			42,523,927,38	
New Mexico	121,291	77,568,610	4,309,368	46,080			41,627,446,39	
Utah	88,056	56,355,635	3,130,869	46,080			73,005,192,00	
Dakota	210,597	153,982,000	8,554,140	46,080			51,139,646,00	
Colorado	101,460	66,000,000	3,285,253	46,080			14,248,000,97	
Montana	143,756	92,016,610	5,112,035	46,080			62,870,665,83	
Arizona	113,918	72,906,304	4,050,350	46,080			86,904,665,00	
Idaho	90,532	58,196,480	3,233,137	46,080			68,855,954,00	
Indian	68,964	41,154,210		46,080			54,463,343,00	
American purchase from Russia	577,360	369,529,600		46,080			44,154,240,00	
Total	2,867,185	1,834,998,400	67,983,914	1,082,880	1,159,499,65	3,192,582,22	44,971,11	1,414,567,574,99

^a The whole quantity liable to be issued under the act of July 2, 1862, is 9,600,000 acres.

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TABLE 4.—Table prepared at the request of Hon. H. W. Blair, by the Bureau of Education, showing the total population, school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, length of school year in days, number of pupils or children of school age not attending school, per cent. of school population enrolled in schools, per cent. of school population not enrolled in school in eighty-six cities (census of 1880).

Cities.	Population.	School popula- tion.	Enrollment.	Average attend- ance.	Total number of teachers.	Length of school year in days.	Number of pupils not attending.	Per cent. of school population en- rolled in school.	Percent. of school population not enrolled in school.
Mobile, Ala.	29,132	4,659	4,014	125	172	875	50	50	
Selma, Ala.	7,529	1,757	882	717	14	1,000	3,666	41	59
Little Rock, Ark.	13,128	6,169	5,563	1,655	33	205	2,112	74	26
Oakland, Cal.	54,553	8,108	5,066	5,067	129	205	1,648	79	21
San Jose, Cal.	21,149	4,943	3,885	28,150	75	200	15,572	71	29
San Francisco, Cal.	233,959	53,892	38,320	86,686	211	200	4,490	56	44
Denver, Colo.	33,629	5,700	3,210	1,953	65	190	2,490	56	44
Bridgeport, Conn.	29,148	6,641	5,299	3,529	91	210	1,412	79	21
Hartford, Conn.	42,015	9,652	7,612	4,886	140	201	2,010	79	21
New Haven, Conn.	62,882	13,897	11,897	7,931	220	200	2,000	86	14
Wilmington, Del.	43,478	7,043	4,472	115	207	200	11,414	48	42
Washington, D. C.	100,149	22,142	15,703	12,508	259	203	2,247	79	21
Jacksonville, Fla.	7,650	1,011	804	828	17	176	2,247	34	66
Key West, Fla.	9,800	3,415	1,168	2,609	17	240	6,400	39	61
Atlanta, Ga.	37,409	10,500	4,100	2,609	68	200	5,339	43	57
Augusta, Ga.	21,891	9,366	4,127	3,299	32	183	7,475	43	57
Chicago, Ill.	502,185	137,035	39,562	42,375	896	200	10,490	51	49
Peoria, Ill.	26,259	9,670	5,751	3,367	75	200	8,853	52	48
Indianapolis, Ind.	73,556	17,759	13,566	8,925	219	200	3,958	57	43
Terre Haute, Ind.	26,042	8,096	4,133	2,975	78	200	3,958	57	43
Des Moines, Iowa	22,408	3,576	2,322	1,562	41	190	1,254	65	35
Dubuque, Iowa	22,254	3,476	3,656	2,535	71	200	5,790	39	61
Leavenworth, Kans.	16,546	6,257	3,060	2,154	34	180	3,197	49	51
Topeka, Kans.	15,452	2,816	1,925	1,607	30	180	1,881	68	32
Covington, Ky.	23,239	10,694	3,646	2,453	69	198	5,629	32	68
Louisville, Ky.	123,758	40,587	19,500	13,498	325	215	26,597	43	57
New Orleans, La.	216,090	17,886	15,190	10,407	208	39,661	31	69	
Bangor, Me.	16,856	5,479	3,120	2,458	71	204	2,359	55	45
Lewiston, Me.	19,083	5,974	3,558	2,061	76	187	2,416	60	40
Portland, Me.	33,810	10,660	6,737	4,347	125	200	3,863	64	36
Baltimore, Md.	322,313	86,961	48,066	25,961	822	186	38,895	55	45
Boston, Mass.	362,839	57,703	40,420	26,201	2,065	206	41,334	70	30
Lawrence, Mass.	33,151	11,155	4,800	4,232	118	200	2,055	42	58
Lowell, Mass.	54,475	9,121	12,211	6,045	160	200	3,060	41,34	
Worcester, Mass.	58,291	10,988	11,452	7,913	218	200	464	6104	
Detroit, Mich.	116,340	39,467	15,719	10,818	250	200	23,748	40	60
Grand Rapids, Mich.	32,016	9,781	5,727	3,590	106	200	4,057	58	42
Minneapolis, Minn.	46,887	12,506	6,142	4,248	120	200	6,664	48	52
Saint Paul, Minn.	41,473	4,338	3,030	2,000	20	200	1,884	59	41
Vicksburg, Miss.	11,119	2,000	1,196	1,196	21	200	1,884	59	41
Kansas City, Mo.	55,855	11,325	5,259	3,146	62	200	6,066	46	54
Saint Joseph, Mo.	32,431	8,908	3,820	2,579	58	200	5,088	43	57
Saint Louis, Mo.	350,518	106,372	55,750	36,449	1,044	200	50,592	52	48
Omaha, Nebr.	30,518	7,381	3,716	2,716	57	200	3,665	50	50
Dover, N. H.	11,687	2,350	1,880	1,436	46	180	470	80	20
Manchester, N. H.	32,630	4,774	4,350	2,818	86	180	424	91	9
Nashua, N. H.	13,367	2,072	2,072	1,630	52	180	454	62	37
Portsmouth, N. H.	9,699	2,251	1,800	1,800	35	200	300	62	38
Jersey City, N. J.	120,722	41,296	22,776	12,905	828	204	18,450	55	45
Newark, N. J.	136,508	41,935	19,778	11,100	270	210	22,457	46	54
Paterson, N. J.	51,031	13,672	7,909	4,750	142	200	5,571	58	42
Albany, N. Y.	90,758	35,411	14,049	9,175	229	210	21,362	40	60
Bronx, N. Y.	565,668	181,000	96,983	52,677	1,315	260	84,720	53	47
Buffalo, N. Y.	153,334	30,000	13,600	11,357	201	37,354	33	67	
New York, N. Y.	1,296,209	385,000	270,176	132,720	3,357	204	114,321	70	30
Rochester, N. Y.	89,366	37,000	13,869	8,250	230	200	23,131	37	63
Wilmington, N. C.	17,350	4,921	866	1,387	4,055	18	82		
Cincinnati, Ohio.	255,139	87,618	36,121	27,279	671	225	51,497	41	59
Cleveland, Ohio.	160,146	49,256	24,262	16,507	596	196	24,994	49	51
Dayton, Ohio.	51,647	14,662	7,902	5,933	149	200	6,760	54	46
Toledo, Ohio.	38,573	11,659	6,004	4,327	125	200	5,165	51	49
Portland, Oreg.	50,137	8,748	6,165	4,429	125	200	2,582	51	49
Allegheny, Pa.	17,577	4,669	2,630	1,956	46	200	2,019	57	43
Philadelphia, Pa.	78,682	11,610	8,287	2,028	202	193			
Pittsburgh, Pa.	877,170	105,541	94,145	2,295	207				
Springfield, Mass.	156,389	26,937	17,387	526					
Newport, R. I.	15,593	19,800	10,174	6,861	165	220	9,626	51	49
Providence, R. I.	104,857	19,108	13,293	9,503	353	198	3,299	75	25
Charleston, S. C.	49,984	12,727	7,284	91	157	5,115	27		
Columbia, S. C.	10,036				5,433	5,433	57	43	
Chattanooga, Tenn.	12,892	3,061	2,185	1,382	30	180	875	71	29
Knoxville, Tenn.	9,693	2,100	1,500	930	26	200	501	72	28
Memphis, Tenn.	33,592	9,611	4,105	2,389	65	150	4,906	45	55
Nashville, Tenn.	43,259	12,609	6,698	4,999	96	190	6,302	49	51
Houston, Tex.	16,513	2,746	1,734	1,162	23	160	1,080	44	36
San Antonio, Tex.	20,550	3,022	1,584	934	22	205	1,438	52	48
Burlington, Vt.	11,365		1,566	932	32				
Rutland, Vt.	12,149		2,395	64					
Norfolk, Va.	21,966	6,695	1,613	1,117	26	210	5,082	24	76
Richmond, Va.	21,656	7,417	1,985	1,494	28	174	5,434	27	73
Madison, Wis.	63,000	21,635	9,611	4,785	121	190	13,715	27	73
Milwaukee, Wis.	10,324	3,517	1,939	1,745	34	185	3,578	45	55
Witwaukee, Wis.	15,587	37,742	17,085	11,149	239	200	20,657	45	55
Oshkosh, Wis.	11,748	5,874	2,217	2,017	53	3,657	3,657	38	62
	8,300,081	2,052,923	1,302,776	858,533	21,672	750,147			

^a More than the school population. This is due to the fact that they are allowed to attend school after the school age established by law.
Average attendance about two-thirds of enrollment or one-third of population of school age.
Thirty-four cities 50 per cent. and upward not enrolled at all.

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TABLE 5.—*Illiteracy in the United States, census of 1880.*

States and Territories.	Total population.	Total population who can not read ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total population who can not read.	Total population who can not write ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total population who can not write.	Total white population.	Total white population.	Per cent. of total white population who can not write.	Total colored population.	Total colored population.	Per cent. of total colored population who can not write.
Alabama.....	1,262,405	370,279	29.33	423,447	31.33	662,185	111,767	16.88	600,320	321,680	53.58
Arizona.....	40,110	24,229	60.65	18,551	46.42	37,169	12,732	33.52	11,784	1,178	94.94
Arkansas.....	802,525	153,229	19.09	262,015	50.15	591,531	98,542	16.66	210,191	103,473	50.54
California.....	864,634	48,583	5.62	53,430	6.18	767,184	26,090	3.40	97,513	27,340	28.04
Colorado.....	191,327	9,321	4.80	10,474	59.39	191,126	15,906	5.18	3,201	567	17.74
Connecticut.....	622,700	20,986	3.37	28,424	4.56	610,769	26,763	4.38	11,931	1,661	13.92
Dakota.....	135,177	3,091	2.23	4,821	3.57	133,147	3,157	2.31	2,030	664	32.71
Delaware.....	116,918	10,918	9.34	16,414	14.24	130,107	8,316	6.38	21,583	11,068	41.85
District of Columbia.....	13,621	2,541	12.13	25,778	18.40	118,006	9,388	7.93	59,618	30,420	47.62
Florida.....	229,493	70,219	26.06	80,183	29.75	112,605	13,763	13.86	128,883	123,805	95.34
Georgia.....	1,542,180	416,683	28.96	520,416	32.75	810,906	128,934	15.78	735,274	381,482	53.98
Idaho.....	32,610	1,384	4.24	1,778	5.45	29,013	784	2.70	3,567	994	27.63
Illinois.....	3,077,871	96,809	3.15	145,337	4.72	3,031,151	132,426	4.37	46,720	12,971	27.76
Indiana.....	1,978,361	70,098	3.57	110,761	5.60	1,938,798	100,394	5.18	39,503	10,365	26.23
Iowa.....	1,215,145	23,153	1.93	32,661	2.80	1,161,600	44,377	3.92	10,015	2,272	22.69
Kansas.....	906,095	23,503	2.56	39,176	3.56	905,155	23,288	2.61	49,131	11,383	23.97
Kentucky.....	1,618,630	238,186	15.66	348,392	21.13	1,377,179	214,497	15.58	271,511	133,805	40.31
Louisiana.....	339,916	27,312	31.63	318,380	33.87	451,954	58,951	12.96	484,992	259,429	53.49
Maine.....	161,936	15,181	2.80	22,170	3.45	616,852	21,758	3.36	2,084	412	19.99
Maryland.....	931,943	111,387	11.91	134,488	14.34	724,693	41,516	6.12	210,250	90,172	42.89
Massachusetts.....	1,783,085	75,635	4.24	92,938	5.21	1,763,782	90,655	5.14	19,303	2,322	12.03
Michigan.....	1,636,357	47,381	2.88	63,523	3.89	1,614,563	58,832	3.61	22,377	4,791	21.41
Minnesota.....	20,551	1,551	7.50	34,546	17.84	77,884	20,416	26.41	3,309	1,125	91.74
Mississippi.....	1,131,597	313,612	27.89	373,201	32.98	478,308	53,418	11.15	659,199	319,739	49.03
Missouri.....	2,168,380	138,818	6.40	208,754	9.63	2,022,826	125,510	7.54	145,554	56,244	38.64
Montana.....	39,159	1,530	3.91	1,707	4.36	35,385	631	1.78	3,771	1,076	28.51
Nebraska.....	452,498	7,830	1.73	11,528	2.55	449,764	10,926	2.43	2,638	600	22.82
Nevada.....	62,296	3,703	5.94	4,059	6.55	53,556	1,915	3.58	8,710	2,154	24.73
New Hampshire.....	34,961	11,936	3.45	11,302	4.12	246,229	11,208	4.41	762	1,949	12.34
New Jersey.....	1,131,116	30,337	2.67	55,249	5.00	1,049,157	44,497	4.26	30,797	9,404	29.23
New Mexico.....	119,565	52,994	44.32	57,156	47.80	108,721	49,597	45.62	10,514	5,539	60.71
New York.....	5,082,871	166,625	3.28	219,600	4.32	5,016,022	208,173	4.15	66,849	11,425	17.09
North Carolina.....	1,399,730	367,890	26.22	465,975	33.15	867,242	192,032	22.14	532,508	271,913	51.07
Ohio.....	3,198,062	85,754	2.71	131,847	4.12	3,117,920	115,491	3.70	80,142	16,356	20.41
Oregon.....	174,763	5,376	3.01	7,423	3.61	163,075	4,343	2.66	11,693	3,084	26.34
Pennsylvania.....	4,282,891	118,138	3.41	204,014	3.82	4,197,014	209,981	5.04	85,875	18,033	21.60
Rhode Island.....	2,171	1,161	54.11	24,463	55.32	2,050,130	224,544	11.72	5,625	1,045	49.45
South Carolina.....	995,577	321,780	32.32	369,381	37.15	391,105	58,967	15.28	601,472	310,071	51.30
Tennessee.....	1,512,359	291,385	19.09	410,722	26.61	1,383,831	216,227	18.99	493,528	194,495	48.20
Texas.....	1,591,749	256,223	16.10	316,432	18.9	1,197,237	123,912	10.35	394,512	102,529	48.80
Utah.....	13,963	4,851	3.37	8,826	6.13	142,423	8,187	5.71	1,540	649	44.74
Vermont.....	332,236	12,993	3.93	15,837	4.77	331,218	15,681	4.73	1,068	155	14.61
Virginia.....	1,512,563	365,493	23.83	433,352	25.45	885,858	114,426	13.03	631,707	315,668	47.97
Washington.....	1,116,116	618,457	52,041	83,376	18.39	592,537	75,237	12.70	7,177	2,130	31.07
West Virginia.....	1,315,497	33,603	2.94	53,558	4.22	1,361,618	51,233	3.14	5,879	1,325	22.51
Wisconsin.....	21,789	427	2.05	556	2.67	19,437	374	1.92	1,352	182	13.46
Total.....	50,155,783	4,923,451	9.82	6,239,958	12.44	43,402,970	3,019,080	6.96	6,752,813	3,220,878	47.70

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, CENSUS OFFICE,

Washington, D. C., February 26, 1884.

Sir: In response to your communication of this day, inclosing certain printed tables relating to the public schools and to the illiteracy of the United States by States, I beg to return the same, with such changes in the figures as are necessitated by the records of this office.

The columns of the table of illiteracy reading "Total colored population" should be altered to read "inclusive of Chinese, Japanese, and civilized Indians."

GEO. W. RICHARDSON, Acting Superintendent.

Very respectfully,

Hon. ALBERT S. WILLIS, M. C., House of Representatives.

TABLE 6.—*The total and illiterate population 10 years old or over, the white and illiterate white population of the same age, the colored and illiterate colored population of the same age, and the per cent of illiterates to population in each case and for each State and Territory.*

[From the census of 1880.]

States and Territories.	Population, 10 years old and over.	Illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.	Number of whites, 10 years old and over.	White illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.	Number of colored people, 10 years old and over.	Colored illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.
Alabama.....	851,780	433,447	50.9	452,722	111,767	24.7	399,058	321,680	80.6
Arkansas.....	531,876	202,015	38.0	393,905	98,512	25.0	137,971	103,473	75.0
California.....	691,422	33,339	4.9	589,205	10,365	1.8	91,177	27,340	29.8
Colorado.....	130,220	21,471	16.5	128,456	9,966	6.3	2,764	568	20.5
Connecticut.....	497,343	28,424	5.7	487,780	26,763	5.4	9,523	1,661	17.4
Delaware.....	110,856	19,414	17.5	91,611	8,316	9.1	19,245	11,068	57.5
Florida.....	184,650	80,183	43.4	99,137	19,763	19.9	85,513	60,420	70.7
Georgia.....	1,013,810	520,416	49.9	563,977	128,934	22.9	479,865	391,482	81.6
Illinois.....	2,269,315	125,397	6.4	2,243,478	132,424	5.9	34,837	31,971	32.2
Indiana.....	1,468,505	170,701	11.6	1,435,955	101,365	7.0	29,109	10,104	35.6
Iowa.....	1,161,611	46,999	4.2	1,174,633	41,767	3.8	7,578	2,272	30.0
Kansas.....	704,267	39,476	5.6	673,121	24,888	3.7	81,176	14,588	46.8
Kentucky.....	1,163,498	318,392	29.9	973,275	214,497	22.0	190,223	133,805	70.4
Louisiana.....	619,070	318,380	49.1	320,947	58,951	18.4	328,153	259,429	79.1
Maine.....	519,669	22,170	4.3	518,011	21,738	4.2	1,655	412	24.8
Maryland.....	695,364	134,484	19.3	644,088	44,316	6.7	151,278	90,901	65.6
Massachusetts.....	1,432,183	92,950	6.5	1,416,767	90,658	6.1	15,416	2,323	15.1

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TABLE 6.—*The total and illiterate population 10 years old or over, the white and illiterate white population of the same age, &c.—Continued.*

States and Territories.	Population, 10 years old and over.	Illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.	Number of whites, 10 years old and over.	White illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.	Number of colored people, 10 years old and over.	Colored illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.
Michigan	1,233,636	63,723	5.2	1,219,906	58,932	4.8	16,780	4,701	28.5
Minnesota	559,977	34,546	6.2	557,183	33,506	6.0	2,794	1,040	37.2
Mississippi	753,693	373,201	49.5	328,296	53,448	16.3	425,397	319,753	75.2
Missouri	1,557,631	208,754	13.4	1,453,238	152,510	10.5	104,393	56,244	53.9
Nebraska	318,271	11,528	3.6	316,312	10,926	3.5	1,959	602	30.7
Nevada	50,666	4,069	8.0	42,595	1,915	4.5	8,071	2,154	26.7
New Hampshire	286,188	14,302	5.0	283,984	10,209	5.0	5,591	1,944	35.5
New Jersey	863,531	55,149	6.4	858,355	44,149	5.3	30,999	9,299	30.5
New York	3,162,458	219,600	5.5	3,227,603	205,175	6.3	53,825	11,425	21.2
North Carolina	959,951	463,975	48.3	608,806	192,032	31.5	351,145	271,943	77.4
Ohio	2,399,367	131,847	5.5	2,339,528	115,491	4.9	59,839	16,356	27.8
Oregon	130,565	7,423	5.7	119,482	4,343	3.6	11,083	3,080	27.8
Pennsylvania	3,203,215	228,014	7.1	3,136,561	209,981	6.7	66,654	15,063	27.1
Rhode Island	220,461	24,753	11.2	215,198	10,406	4.8	5,397	1,200	28.6
South Carolina	66,456	3,005	4.5	59,574	2,079	3.5	3,269	1,071	32.5
Tennessee	1,624,330	410,722	28.7	790,744	216,227	27.3	271,336	194,493	71.7
Texas	1,064,196	316,432	29.7	808,931	123,912	15.3	255,255	192,520	75.4
Vermont	264,052	15,837	6.0	263,245	15,681	6.0	807	156	19.3
Virginia	1,059,093	430,352	40.6	630,584	114,692	18.2	428,450	315,660	73.7
West Virginia	428,587	85,376	19.9	410,141	75,237	18.3	18,446	10,139	55.0
Wisconsin	965,712	55,558	5.8	931,438	54,233	5.6	4,279	1,325	31.1
Arizona	32,922	5,142	17.7	29,234	4,294	14.8	4,333	1,605	38.4
Arkansas	40,449	3,821	9.5	8,348	4,157	4.9	1,501	664	44.2
District of Columbia	136,907	23,778	18.8	91,872	3,988	4.3	45,035	21,790	48.4
Idaho	25,005	1,778	7.1	21,481	784	3.6	3,524	994	28.2
Montana	31,989	1,707	5.3	28,986	631	2.2	3,003	1,076	35.8
New Mexico	87,966	57,156	65.0	79,767	49,597	62.2	8,199	7,559	92.2
Utah	97,194	8,823	9.1	95,876	8,137	8.5	1,318	689	52.3
Washington	55,720	3,889	7.0	49,269	1,402	2.9	6,611	2,499	33.1
Wyoming	16,479	556	3.4	15,240	374	2.5	1,239	182	14.7
Total	36,761,607	6,239,958	17.0	32,160,400	3,019,080	9.4	4,601,207	3,220,873	70.1

TABLE 7.—*The white and colored adult males and the adult male illiterates of the two races, with percentages, for each State and Territory.*

[From the census of 1890.]

States and Territories.	Total white male adults.	Illiterate white male adults.	Per cent.	Total colored male adults.	Illiterate colored male adults.	Per cent.
Alabama	141,461	24,450	17.3	118,423	96,408	81.4
Arkansas	136,150	21,349	15.7	46,827	34,300	73.2
California	2,282,983	12,900	4.8	66,597	16,857	25.2
Colorado	99,988	9,629	9.5	1,320	1,197	16.1
Connecticut	173,759	9,501	5.5	3,532	636	18.7
Delaware	31,902	2,955	9.3	6,396	3,787	59.2
Florida	34,210	4,706	13.8	27,489	19,110	69.5
Georgia	177,967	28,571	16.1	143,471	116,510	81.2
Illinois	783,161	44,536	5.7	13,686	5,271	38.5
Indiana	337,953	33,767	6.9	10,739	4,345	40.4
Iowa	414,633	16,263	3.9	3,925	1,001	30.4
Kansas	234,949	9,983	4.1	10,765	5,622	52.2
Kentucky	317,579	54,956	17.3	58,642	43,177	73.6
Louisiana	108,810	16,377	15.1	107,977	86,555	80.2
Maine	186,659	8,420	4.5	664	144	21.7
Maryland	183,523	15,152	8.3	48,884	30,873	63.5
Massachusetts	496,692	30,416	6.2	5,496	941	15.8
Michigan	257,639	25,639	5.7	5,130	1,352	30.4
Minnesota	212,339	12,372	5.8	1,382	364	32.5
Mississippi	105,254	12,473	11.5	130,273	99,068	76.0
Missouri	508,165	40,665	8.0	33,042	19,028	57.6
Nebraska	128,198	3,836	3.0	814	256	30.3
Nevada	25,632	1,173	4.6	5,622	1,194	21.2
New Hampshire	104,341	10,541	5.0	227	42	17.7
New Jersey	343,365	16,602	4.7	50,100	3,570	30.4
New York	1,888,692	76,745	5.5	29,059	4,521	22.5
North Carolina	189,732	44,420	23.4	105,018	80,282	76.4
Ohio	804,871	40,373	5.0	21,706	7,041	32.4
Oregon	51,686	1,668	3.2	7,993	2,005	25.1
Pennsylvania	1,070,392	65,985	6.2	23,892	6,845	28.6
Rhode Island	179,576	7,535	4.5	1,388	245	17.4
South Carolina	186,900	12,024	15.0	118,889	93,010	78.2
Tennessee	250,055	46,548	18.8	80,250	58,601	73.0
Texas	301,737	23,085	11.0	78,639	59,669	75.9
Vermont	95,307	6,731	7.1	314	82	26.1
Virginia	206,218	31,474	15.3	128,257	100,210	78.1
West Virginia	132,777	19,055	14.4	6,384	3,830	60.0
Wisconsin	132,523	21,120	16.3	5,156	4,171	30.6
Arizona	18,046	1,150	11.9	2,922	422	14.9
Dakota	50,962	1,678	3.3	641	210	32.8
District of Columbia	31,955	1,350	4.2	13,918	7,520	54.0
Idaho	11,669	319	2.7	3,126	669	27.8
Montana	19,636	410	2.1	1,908	483	25.3
New Mexico	30,981	14,878	45.1	3,065	2,779	80.8
Utah	32,171	2,137	6.7	635	510	51.9
Washington	24,251	612	2.6	3,419	1,126	32.9
Wyoming	9,341	160	1.7	939	84	8.9
Total	11,343,965	886,659	7.8	1,487,344	1,022,151	68.7

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TABLE 8.—*Colored schools and colored-school enrollment in the Southern States for five years, from 1877 to 1881, both dates inclusive.*
[Prepared by the United States Bureau of Education.]

	1877.		1878.		1879.		1880.		1881.	
	Schools.	Enrollment.	Schools.	Enrollment.	Schools.	Enrollment.	Schools.	Enrollment.	Schools.	Enrollment.
Private schools.....	10,792	571,506	14,247	685,150	14,341	685,942	16,069	784,709	17,248	802,372
Normal schools.....	27	3,785	34	5,236	44	6,171	44	7,408	47	7,621
Schools for secondary instruction.....	23	3,807	23	5,000	42	5,677	35	5,283	34	5,854
Universities and colleges.....	13	1,041	15	1,620	16	1,923	15	1,717	17	2,303
Schools of theology.....	17	462	19	626	22	762	22	800	22	604
Schools of law.....	2	14	3	44	3	42	3	33	3	45
Schools of medicine.....	3	74	4	94	4	99	2	87	2	116
Schools for the blind and deaf-mutes.....	2	99	2	121	2	120	2	122	2	120
Total.....	10,879	580,017	14,472	668,181	14,472	700,366	16,793	800,113	17,375	815,365

TABLE 9.—*Giving the popular majorities received at the last three Presidential elections, and the number of illiterate voters as shown by the census of 1880.*

States and Territories.	Electoral vote, 1880.			Popular majority, 1872.	Popular majority, 1876.	Popular majority, 1880.	Illiterate voters, 1880.
	Alabama	Arkansas	Mississippi				
Alabama.....	10	10,828	33,772	34,509	120,859		
Arkansas.....	6	3,446	19,113	19,528	55,648		
Delaware.....	3	429	2,629	1,033	5,742		
Florida.....	2	2,365	4,306	4,306	5,216		
Georgia.....	11	9,806	79,642	49,871	145,087		
Kentucky.....	12	8,835	59,772	43,000	98,133		
Louisiana.....	8	14,634	64,627	27,316	102,932		
Maryland.....	8	908	19,756	15,191	46,025		
Mississippi.....	8	34,887	59,568	40,596	111,541		
Missouri.....	15	20,919	54,388	55,042	59,483		
North Carolina.....	10	16,675	17,740	8,835	120,762		
South Carolina.....	7	43,400	964	54,241	106,934		
Tennessee.....	12	8,736	43,600	20,514	105,549		
Texas.....	8	16,595	49,955	98,383	92,754		
Virginia.....	11	1,772	44,112	43,056	131,684		
West Virginia.....	5	2,264	12,384	11,148	22,885		
	138						
California.....	6	12,234	2,738	78	29,472		
Colorado.....	3			2,800	3,916		
Connecticut.....	6	4,348	1,712	2,655	10,197		
Illinois.....	21	53,948	19,630	40,716	49,807		
Indiana.....	15	21,068	5,515	6,153	33,162		
Iowa.....	11	35,119	32,491	75,000	17,411		
Kansas.....	5	3,482	32,511	61,000	13,621		
Maine.....	3	32,335	15,814	8,863	8,564		
Massachusetts.....	15	74,212	40,423	53,245	31,892		
Michigan.....	11	55,968	15,542	53,860	28,182		
Minnesota.....	5	20,694	21,780	40,588	12,736		
North Dakota.....	3	10,517	10,326	26,115	4,692		
Nevada.....	3	2,777	1,757	573	2,377		
New Hampshire.....	6	5,444	2,954	4,058	5,306		
New Jersey.....	9	14,570	11,690	2,010	19,462		
New York.....	23	51,800	26,568	21,038	81,266		
Ohio.....	22	34,268	7,500	34,227	47,414		
Oregon.....	3	3,517	547	671	3,674		
Pennsylvania.....	29	135,118	9,375	37,275	72,840		
Rhode Island.....	4	8,326	4,447	7,110	5,261		
Vermont.....	5	29,961	33,838	27,000	6,813		
Wisconsin.....	10	17,686	5,205	29,763	21,695		
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a Or 94.

b Or 5,303.

The Southern States, seventeen in number, including the District of Columbia, are usually classed together as a section of the country requiring special help. Of all but Maryland, Missouri, and the District of Columbia this is true. The following table exhibits their condition:

TABLE 10.—*Comparative statistics of education at the South.*

States,	White.			Colored.			Total expenditure for both races, a.
	School population.	Enrollment.	Per cent. of school population enrolled.	School population.	Enrollment.	Per cent. of school population enrolled.	
Alabama.....	217,500	107,483	49	150,413	72,007	42	\$375,465
Arkansas.....	118,799	653,229	55	554,332	17,743	32	238,056
Delaware.....	31,505	25,053	80	3,954	2,270	50	207,281
Florida.....	b16,410	c18,871	41	b12,099	c20,444	49	114,865
Georgia.....	b236,319	c150,131	61	b197,125	c85,392	45	476,517
Kentucky.....	c478,597	c241,673	50	c65,564	c23,902	36	803,490
Louisiana.....	c139,661	c44,062	32	c131,194	c31,476	25	480,320

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TABLE 10.—Comparative statistics of education at the South—Continued.

States.	White.			Colored.			Total expenditure for both races, <i>a</i> .
	School population.	Enrollment.	Per cent. of school population enrolled.	School population.	Enrollment.	Per cent. of school population enrolled.	
Maryland.....	513,669	134,210	63	562,591	98,291	44	\$1,544,367
Mississippi.....	173,251	112,994	64	231,438	123,710	49	500,704
Missouri.....	681,995	454,218	67	41,489	22,158	53	3,152,178
North Carolina.....	291,770	136,481	47	167,554	59,125	53	352,882
South Carolina.....	983,813	61,219	73	g144,315	72,853	50	624,629
Tennessee.....	403,353	229,250	57	141,509	63,351	46	724,562
Texas.....	111,324	132,142	81	608,175	17,871	77	753,346
Virginia.....	314,827	152,136	48	240,080	63,000	26	940,169
West Virginia.....	202,364	138,779	68	7,749	4,071	53	716,361
District of Columbia.....	29,912	16,934	57	13,946	9,505	68	435,867
Total.....	3,899,961	2,215,674	.....	1,803,257	754,709	.....	12,475,044

a In Delaware the colored public schools have been supported by the school tax collected from colored citizens only; recently, however, they have received an appropriation of \$2,400 from the State; in Kentucky the school tax collected from colored citizens is the only State appropriation for the support of colored schools; in Maryland there is a colored appropriation by the State; in the District of Columbia one third of the school money is set apart for colored public schools; in Virginia the colored are mentioned above; the school monies are allotted in proportion to the school population, without regard to race. *b* Several counties failed to make race distinctions. *c* Estimated. *d* In 1879. *e* For whites the school age is 6 to 20; for colored 6 to 16. *f* Census of 1870. *g* In 1877. *h* These numbers include some duplicates; the actual school population is 239,527.

Excluding the States of Maryland and Missouri and the District of Columbia, and the total yearly expenditure for both races is only \$7,339,932, while in the whole country the annual expenditure is, from taxation \$70,341,435, and from school funds \$6,550,632, or a total of \$76,922,067 (see tables 2 and 7), or one-tenth of the whole, while they contain one-fifth of the school population. The causes which have

produced this state of things in the Southern States are far less important than the facts themselves as they now exist. To find a remedy and to apply it is the only duty which devolves upon us. Without universal education not only will the late war prove to be a failure, but the abolition of slavery be proved to be a tremendous disaster, if not a crime.

TABLE 11.—Population and assessed valuation of personal property and real estate in the United States, from census reports for 1860, 1870, and 1880.

States and Territories.	1860.		1870.		1880.		aIncrease, per cent., 1860 to 1880.
	Population.	Assessed valuation.	Population.	Assessed valuation.	Population.	Assessed valuation.	
Alabama.....	964,201	432,195,762	996,992	155,582,595	1,262,505	122,867,228	31
Arizona.....	438,450	180,211,330	9,685	1,410,295	40,449	9,270,214	84
Arkansas.....	379,274	139,651,667	484,171	94,236,813	802,925	95,409,364	112
California.....	379,274	139,651,667	569,347	269,674,836	987,104	587,190,364	125
Colorado.....	379,274	139,651,667	39,864	17,338,101	194,327	74,471,693	467
Connecticut.....	460,147	311,256,976	537,454	425,433,237	622,700	327,177,335	35
Dakota.....	4,837	11,181	2,624,459	135,177	20,311,530	2,095	—4
Delaware.....	113,216	39,767,223	125,015	64,787,223	146,608	59,951,643	31
District of Columbia.....	73,080	41,051,645	131,700	74,271,695	177,624	99,331,530	137
Florida.....	140,000	63,187,655	131,500	32,481,975	263,965	30,300,975	92
Georgia.....	1,057,224	618,224,357	1,184,109	227,755,519	1,542,180	239,472,599	46
Idaho.....	294,170	14,199	5,294,205	32,610	6,440,570	—	—
Illinois.....	1,711,951	389,207,372	2,539,891	482,599,575	3,077,871	780,616,394	50
Indiana.....	1,350,428	411,042,424	1,680,637	663,455,044	1,978,301	727,175,131	46
Iowa.....	674,913	205,166,983	1,194,020	302,518,418	1,624,615	398,671,251	141
Kansas.....	107,294	22,918,332	304,399	92,125,861	196,096	160,861,689	829
Kentucky.....	1,151,884	525,257,633	1,321,111	409,193,251	1,649,930	509,193,251	43
Louisiana.....	708,002	435,257,268	726,015	235,371,250	938,946	160,162,432	33
Maine.....	623,279	154,380,388	626,915	264,233,780	648,036	235,795,716	3
Maryland.....	687,049	297,135,238	789,594	423,831,918	924,943	497,307,975	36
Massachusetts.....	1,231,066	777,157,516	1,457,351	1,591,985,112	1,783,085	1,584,756,802	45
Michigan.....	749,113	163,835,003	1,184,059	272,242,917	1,636,937	517,884,359	119
Minnesota.....	172,023	32,018,773	439,706	84,153,332	789,773	258,025,687	354
Mississippi.....	717,369	509,472,422	527,369	177,200,889	1,103,397	40,100,889	43
Missouri.....	1,152,212	266,955,851	1,721,285	2,188,190,469	2,168,250	558,795,801	83
Montana.....	20,895	—	9,943,411	39,159	18,609,822	—	—
Nebraska.....	28,841	7,426,949	122,933	54,584,616	452,402	90,583,782	1,469
Nevada.....	6,837	42,491	25,740,973	62,266	29,241,459	808	—
New Hampshire.....	326,073	123,510,098	318,300	149,065,290	346,991	164,299,531	6
New Jersey.....	673,055	296,682,422	906,196	624,988,971	1,131,116	572,511,391	68
New Mexico.....	7,708	459,183,420	91,717	171,784,001	118,406	118,406	45
New York.....	3,880,765	1,206,461,638	4,382,759	1,967,375,185	5,082,871	2,631,940,906	61
North Carolina.....	992,622	292,297,602	1,071,361	130,578,622	1,399,750	166,160,302	41
Ohio.....	2,339,511	959,367,161	2,065,260	1,167,371,697	3,198,062	1,534,369,508	37
Oregon.....	52,465	19,024,915	90,923	31,795,510	174,768	52,522,084	233
Pennsylvania.....	2,906,215	719,253,335	3,521,351	1,313,236,042	4,282,891	11,682,459,016	47
Rhode Island.....	174,639	125,104,335	217,333	224,278,854	276,381	232,636,073	53
South Carolina.....	77,078	459,183,420	70,003	180,278,857	99,577	100,457	41
Tennessee.....	1,109,301	332,493,200	1,526,529	235,732,161	1,542,239	211,773,533	29
Texas.....	664,215	267,732,335	818,579	149,732,929	1,591,749	239,361,315	163
Utah.....	40,273	4,158,029	86,786	12,565,842	143,963	24,773,279	27
Vermont.....	315,098	84,758,619	330,551	102,548,528	328,256	86,806,775	5
Virginia.....	1,596,318	657,021,356	1,225,163	365,481,917	1,512,865	308,455,135	c54
Washington.....	11,594	4,354,735	23,305	10,642,803	73,116	23,810,603	548
West Virginia.....	20,214	4,141,114	14,909	14,095,104	16,357	16,357	442
Wisconsin.....	755,881	183,945,459	1,054,670	323,209,338	1,315,497	438,971,751	70
Wyoming.....	—	—	9,118	5,516,748	20,789	13,621,829	136
Total.....	31,443,321	12,084,560,005	38,553,371	14,178,986,732	50,155,783	16,902,755,893	d60
							d40

a Per cent. preceded by the minus sign indicates a decrease. *b* In Pennsylvania occupations are also valued for assessment. This valuation for 1880 was \$6,059,580. *c* Virginia and West Virginia are taken together, as West Virginia belonged to Virginia in 1850. *d* Average for the United States.

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In this connection it is proper to observe that in the States where slavery existed in 1860 the valuation then aggregated \$2,289,029,642, of which \$842,927,400 was in slaves, and proper allowance must be made for this fact in estimating present power to bear taxation. The negroes were then taxed; they were productive as property. Now they require

to be educated; then education would have destroyed them as property. They are now doing little more as a totality than to support themselves. Their taxable property is thus far very slight.

The following table gives the actual taxation for the support of schools in the year 1880:

TABLE 12.—*Amount raised by taxation for support of public schools in each State and Territory during the year 1880.*
[Prepared by Bureau of Education, at request of H. W. BLAIR.]

States and Territories.	Amount received from taxation.		
	From State tax.	From local tax.	Total.
Alabama	\$130,000	\$3120,000	\$250,000
Arkansas	611,600	77,475	189,080
California	1,318,200	1,303,572	2,711,781
Colorado		636,533	636,533
Connecticut	210,353	1,066,314	1,276,667
Delaware		d151,045	d151,045
Florida	(140,530)	125,230	104,530
Georgia	535,790	5,725,478	471,029
Illinois	1,000,000	5,725,302	6,725,302
Indiana		4,227,300	4,227,300
Iowa		1,276,786	1,276,786
Kansas		g382,038	917,392
Kentucky	535,534	356,000	450,000
Louisiana	224,565	596,253	820,869
Maine	491,406	721,406	1,212,812
Massachusetts		4,372,286	4,372,286
Michigan	6379,758	2,074,073	2,453,831
Minnesota	257,689	1,073,837	1,331,526
Mississippi		324,769	334,769
Missouri		2,163,330	2,163,330
Nebraska	73,803	713,155	786,963
Nevada			
New Hampshire			
New Jersey	1,017,755	724,413	1,742,198
New York	2,750,000	6,925,992	9,675,992
North Carolina			
Ohio	(314,719)	5,155,879	314,719
Oregon	1,538,207	79,400	6,714,086
Pennsylvania	133,477	7,061,116	213,038
Rhode Island		414,852	495,652
South Carolina			
Tennessee			
Texas	678,603		678,603
Vermont	113,173	304,318	417,491
Virginia	596,516	665,480	1,261,975
West Virginia	214,000	494,643	709,643
Wisconsin	125,000	2,198,581	2,223,581
Arizona			m67,028
Dakota			123,643
District of Columbia			474,556
Idaho			48,017
Indian Territory			
Montana			
New Mexico	n64,645	6,256	69,891
Utah			
Washington	63,041	43,337	106,378
Wyoming		f102,201	f105,520
Total.		{ (419,249)	{ 53,913,086
		14,287,570	570,371,435

a From poll-tax. *b* State apportionment, which here probably includes the income of the State school fund for 1880, the State tax, and so much of the ordinary State revenues as may be set apart for the purpose by the Legislature. *c* From county and district tax, fines, &c. *d* This amount raised for white schools, *e* This includes rental of State railroad (\$150,000). *f* In 1879. *g* Includes tax on billiards and dogs. *h* Estimated. *i* From township tax. *j* Includes income from permanent fund. *k* State appropriation. *l* Special for building purposes. *m* Total income as reported for 1880, the greater part of which comes from Territorial, county, and district taxes. *n* From county tax. *o* Includes \$1,750,630 reported as derived from taxation and given in the column of totals but not appearing in the first two columns.

Table No. 12 gives the amount received in each State from interest on funds and rent of lands. The total from taxation is \$70,371,435 from funds and rents, \$6,580,632; total, \$76,952,067.

TABLE 13.—*Rate of tax for school purposes in various cities.*

[Mills per dollar of assessed valuation.]

	Mills.		Mills.
Little Rock, Ark.		Manchester, N. H.	2.7
New Haven, Conn.	3	New Brunswick, N. J.	2.54
Columbus, Ga.	2.97	Brooklyn, N. Y.	3.12
Macon, Ga.	2	New York, N. Y.	2.84
Chicago, Ill.	9.5	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	2.2
Quincy, Ill.	6.4	Rochester, N. Y.	3.58
Rock Island, Ill.	12	Syracuse, N. Y.	3
Fort Wayne, Ind.	2.6	Elmira, Pa.	8
Indianapolis, Ind.		Harrisburg, Pa.	13
Louisville, Ky.	3	Pottsville, Pa.	8
Newport, Ky.	3	Newport, R. I.	1.3
New Orleans, La.	1.9	Charleston, S. C.	3
Bangor, Me.	2.45	Knoxville, Tenn.	2.25
Leavenworth, Mo.	1.93	Memphis, Tenn.	2
Baltimore, Md.		Nashville, Tenn.	4.5
Boston, Mass.	2.51	Galveston, Tex.	2
Lowell, Mass.	2.9	Alexandria, Va.	2.8
Springfield, Mass.	2.9	Norfolk, Va.	1
Vicksburg, Miss.	4	Richmond, Va.	1.37
Kansas City, Mo.	4	Wheeling, W. Va.	7
Saint Louis, Mo.	5		

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TABLE 14.—Showing the population, total assessed valuation of property, total taxation, per capita of valuation, per capita of taxation, rate of taxation, total indebtedness, per capita of indebtedness, by States and Territories, drawn from the census of 1880.

States and Territories.	Population.	Total assessed valuation of property.	Total taxation.	Per capita of valuation.	Per capita of taxation.	Rate of taxation.	Total indebtedness.	Per capita of indebtedness.
Alabama.....	1,262,505	\$1,122,967,225	\$2,061,973	\$97.32	\$1.63	.016	\$14,729,545	\$11.66
Arkansas.....	802,525	\$6,409,364	1,839,090	107.67	2.29	.021	7,383,784	9.89
California.....	864,654	581,578,036	12,628,005	675.05	14.72	.021	16,755,688	19.37
Colorado.....	194,327	74,471,693	2,052,008	383.22	11.07	.028	3,594,206	18.49
Connecticut.....	622,704	227,177,355	5,365,739	525.41	8.61	.016	22,061,661	33.33
Delaware.....	146,668	59,451,643	604,257	408.92	4.12	.01	2,346,555	16.05
Florida.....	1,262,180	2,061,973	30,156	1.59	.007	.007	1,159,000	9.74
Georgia.....	233,472,599	2,207,008	155.23	2.07	.013	19,681,903	12.76	
Illinois.....	3,077,871	786,616,394	19,283,413	255.57	6.26	.024	14,912,422	14.27
Indiana.....	1,978,301	727,815,131	10,843,630	367.90	5.48	.014	18,354,737	9.27
Iowa.....	1,621,615	398,671,251	10,261,605	245.39	6.31	.025	7,962,767	4.90
Kansas.....	996,096	160,891,680	4,414,812	161.59	4.43	.027	16,065,833	16.06
Kentucky.....	1,618,690	350,568,971	5,204,041	217.63	3.15	.014	14,777,881	9.08
Louisiana.....	1,262,180	2,061,973	4,476.56	1.76	.007	.007	1,724,000	13.69
Maine.....	648,936	233,978,716	5,182,135	363.64	7.98	.021	22,446,830	34.52
Maryland.....	931,943	497,307,675	5,437,402	531.91	5.81	.01	10,890,606	11.05
Massachusetts.....	1,788,085	1,584,756,502	24,326,877	888.77	13.64	.015	91,283,913	51.19
Michigan.....	1,636,937	517,666,359	8,627,949	316.24	5.27	.016	8,883,144	5.37
Minnesota.....	1,531,591	110,628,129	2,384,473	97.75	2.10	.021	2,013,199	13.85
Mississippi.....	2,047,600	328,029,687	10,200,000	297.40	4.94	.019	5,971,777	25.51
Nebraska.....	452,402	90,585,782	2,792,480	200.23	6.17	.019	7,425,757	16.41
Nevada.....	62,266	29,291,459	871,673	470.42	13.99	.029	1,024,523	16.45
New Hampshire.....	346,991	164,755,181	2,697,640	443.11	7.77	.016	10,721,170	30.99
New Jersey.....	2,131,116	572,518,361	8,585,905	505.20	7.91	.015	49,547,102	42.80
New York.....	5,052,871	2,651,940,066	56,392,975	521.54	11.09	.021	218,728,314	43.08
North Carolina.....	1,399,870	454,400,262	1,788,192	112.52	1.02	.012	8,149,600	5.85
Ohio.....	3,077,871	1,531,591,251	28,750,558	475.92	8.03	.016	45,476,604	15.24
Oregon.....	174,768	52,522,084	1,112,942	390.52	6.37	.021	545,502	4.83
Pennsylvania.....	4,252,891	1,683,450,016	28,604,334	293.05	6.67	.016	114,034,759	26.22
Rhode Island.....	276,532	232,536,673	2,692,715	912.23	9.73	.01	13,102,790	47.38
South Carolina.....	905,577	123,560,121	1,839,983	134.15	1.84	.013	13,343,933	13.40
Tennessee.....	1,542,359	211,778,558	2,788,781	137.37	1.89	.013	37,587,909	24.08
Texas.....	1,591,743	324,389,515	4,568,711	201.26	1.21	.014	11,604,913	7.20
Vermont.....	1,262,180	2,061,973	1,747,111	1.20	.007	.007	1,238,000	3.02
Virginia.....	512,563	208,455,135	4,642,302	203.92	3.07	.015	42,696,302	27.83
West Virginia.....	618,457	133,622,705	2,056,979	225.76	3.32	.014	1,513,424	2.44
Wisconsin.....	1,315,497	438,971,751	5,838,325	333.69	4.43	.013	11,876,902	9.02
Alaska.....	40,440	9,270,214	293,036	220.23	7.25	.031	377,501	9.33
Dakota.....	135,172	20,446,530	3,478,066	596.33	3.53	.023	98,860,776	7.38
District of Columbia.....	17,244	50,401,587	1,493,000	503.50	3.04	.014	22,446,550	127.66
Idaho.....	32,610	6,446,876	193.887	197.51	6.00	.03	2,238,319	7.21
Cherokees.....								
Indian Territory.....	Chickasaws.....							
Cochetaws.....								
Crecks.....								
Seminoles.....								
Montana.....	39,150	18,609,832	383,647	475.23	9.89	.02	750,031	19.46
New Mexico.....	119,563	11,363,406	126,942	950.39	1.06	.011	84,572	7.0
Utah.....	143,903	24,775,279	425,288	172.69	3.02	.017	116,251	8.0
Washington.....	75,116	23,810,693	505,417	318.98	6.72	.021	239,311	3.18
Wyoming.....	20,759	13,621,829	230,228	655.24	11.07	.016	205,402	9.83

TABLE 15.—Showing assessed valuation of real and personal property; total population by States, groups, and grand total; also average valuation per capita for the several States and groups.

States.	Total assessed valuation.	Total population.	Valuation per capita.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.			
Maine.....	\$235,978,716	648,936	\$363
New Hampshire.....	164,755,181	346,991	474
Vermont.....	86,806,776	322,236	261
Massachusetts.....	1,584,756,802	1,783,085	888
Rhode Island.....	232,536,633	26,531	912
Connecticut.....	327,177,883	622,700	525
Totals for the group.....	2,652,011,532	4,010,529	661
SOUTHERN STATES.			
Virginia.....	308,455,135	1,512,565	203
West Virginia.....	139,622,705	618,457	225
North Carolina.....	156,100,202	1,399,730	111
South Carolina.....	133,560,135	905,577	134
Georgia.....	239,472,599	1,542,180	155
Alabama.....	180,867,309	1,262,505	97
Mississippi.....	110,760,128	1,171,000	97
Louisiana.....	161,162,420	939,946	170
Texas.....	320,364,515	1,591,749	201
Arkansas.....	56,409,364	802,525	107
Kentucky.....	350,563,971	1,648,690	218
Tennessee.....	211,778,538	1,542,539	137
Totals for the group.....	2,370,923,266	15,257,393	153
WESTERN STATES.			
Ohio.....	1,534,360,508	3,198,062	479
Indiana.....	727,815,131	1,975,301	367
Illinois.....	795,166,394	3,077,871	235
Michigan.....	517,660,539	1,350,357	316

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TABLE 15.—*Showing assessed valuation of real and personal property, totals, &c.—Continued.*

States.	Total assessed valuation.	Total population.	Valuation per capita.
Wisconsin.....	\$438,971,751	1,315,497	\$333
Iowa.....	301,971,681	1,146,615	243
Minnesota.....	358,089,687	780,330	461
Missouri.....	532,795,801	2,168,330	243
Kansas.....	160,891,689	996,066	161
Nebraska.....	90,585,782	452,402	200
Colorado.....	74,471,699	194,327	372
Nevada.....	29,291,459	62,266	469
Oregon.....	52,522,081	17,476	300
California.....	584,578,036	864,694	676
Totals for the group.....	6,187,266,625	18,524,989	334
MIDDLE STATES.			
New York.....	2,651,940,006	5,082,671	521
New Jersey.....	572,518,361	1,131,116	509
Pennsylvania.....	1,683,494,016	4,282,891	393
Delaware.....	59,951,643	146,608	409
Maryland.....	497,307,675	931,943	531
District of Columbia.....	99,401,757	177,624	559
Totals for the group.....	5,561,578,488	11,756,063	473
TERRITORIES.			
Arizona.....	9,270,214	40,440	226
Dakota.....	20,321,530	135,177	150
Idaho.....	6,444,876	32,610	197
Montana.....	10,630,242	39,723	264
New Mexico.....	11,263,406	119,365	95
Utah.....	24,775,279	143,963	173
Washington.....	23,810,693	75,116	316
Wyoming.....	13,621,829	20,739	655
Totals for the group.....	128,213,629	606,819	211
Grand totals.....	16,902,933,545	50,155,783	337

TABLE 16.—*Changes in assessed valuation of property in Southern States, 1870-'80.*

States.	Assessed valuation in 1870.	Assessed valuation in 1880.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase in population.			
					White.	Colored.	Total.	
							a	
Virginia.....	\$365,439,917	\$368,455,135			\$56,984,782	168,769	118,775	287,402
West Virginia.....	10,385,273	139,491,705			915,563	168,594	7,743	176,443
North Carolina.....	130,620,622	129,169,705			\$25,721,950	187,727	180,027	328,754
South Carolina.....	183,912,337	133,569,135			50,393,202	101,433	188,513	288,071
Georgia.....	227,219,519	233,472,509	12,233,080		1,542,534	177,980	179,931	338,071
Florida.....	32,480,843	30,938,309			16,458	35,001	81,745	
Alabama.....	155,582,595	122,867,228			32,715,367	140,501	124,593	265,513
Mississippi.....	177,275,800	110,628,129			66,650,761	96,502	206,090	303,675
Louisiana.....	233,371,800	160,162,400			65,209,451	92,889	119,445	213,031
Texas.....	230,229,229	230,229,229	157		170,631,950	63,537	307,969	774,504
Arkansas.....	94,528,843	86,499,364			8,119,471	229,116	88,377	318,554
Kentucky.....	409,544,294	330,563,971			58,980,323	278,487	49,241	327,675
Tennesse.....	253,782,161	211,778,538			42,063,623	202,712	80,820	283,839
			b 292,808,844					
	2,573,792,113	2,370,923,269	208,606,246	411,475,090	2,925,355	1,478,413	4,666,982	

a This total includes the white, colored, 696 Chinese, 1 Japanese, and 2,527 civilized Indians.

b Net decrease.

TABLE 17.—*School-district indebtedness.*

NOTE.—The officials in some States and Territories, in reporting school-district indebtedness, made no division into bonded debt and floating debt. In such cases the whole amount is entered as floating debt. In the States and Territories having no indebtedness the school-district system does not exist, or exists only for administrative purposes.

States.	Bonded debt.	Floating debt.	Total.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.			
Maine.....		\$80,034	\$80,034
New Hampshire.....		65,607	65,607
Vermont.....		157,278	157,278
Massachusetts.....		181,466	181,466
Rhode Island.....		688,910	688,910
Connecticut.....			
Total.....		1,168,295	1,168,295
MIDDLE STATES.			
New York.....	\$417,994	162,529	580,423
New Jersey.....	697,627	280	697,907
Pennsylvania.....	2,451,548	4,113	2,455,962
Delaware.....		4,222	4,222
Maryland.....			
District of Columbia.....			
Total.....	3,567,079	171,445	3,733,524

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TABLE 17.—*School-district indebtedness—Continued.*

States.	Bonded debt.	Floating debt.	Total.
SOUTHERN STATES.			
Virginia.....			\$90,588
West Virginia.....			15,426
North Carolina.....			43,538
South Carolina.....			
Georgia.....			
Florida.....			
Alabama.....			
Mississippi.....			
Louisiana.....			
Texas.....			
Arkansas.....			
Kentucky.....			16,388
Tennessee.....			16,388
Total.....	28,132	122,402	150,531
WESTERN STATES.			
Ohio.....			1,452,199
Indiana.....			3,406,306
Illinois.....			3,406,306
Michigan.....	1,293,502	96,081	1,389,673
Wisconsin.....		276,567	276,567
Iowa.....			
Minnesota.....	1,123,188	640,745	1,764,934
Missouri.....		50,227	50,227
Kansas.....		1,749,357	29,451
Nebraska.....		827,641	827,641
Colorado.....		328,468	328,468
Nevada.....		1,506	1,506
Oregon.....		26,585	26,585
California.....		377,963	377,963
Total.....	5,261,031	6,167,779	12,428,810
THE TERRITORIES.			
Arizona.....		13,000	13,000
Dakota.....		600	600
Idaho.....			
Montana.....			33,552
New Mexico.....			33,552
Utah.....			
Washington.....			
Wyoming.....			
Total.....	13,000	36,248	49,248
The United States.....	9,860,242	7,666,169	17,533,411

TABLE 18.—*Valuation and taxation.*

States.	Assessed valuation.			Taxation.				
	Real estate.	Personal prop- erty.	Total.	School.	Other pur- poses.	Total.	Per cent. of school of total.	Rate of taxation on \$100.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.								
Maine.....	\$173,856,242	\$62,122,474	\$235,978,716	\$937,525	\$4,244,610	\$5,182,133	18.0	\$2 19
New Hampshire.....	122,733,124	42,022,057	164,755,181	\$516,449	2,181,191	2,697,640	19.1	1 63
Vermont.....	111,456,220	15,370,100	126,826,770	\$85,066,770	429,708	1,315,465	1,745,111	2 01
Massachusetts.....	1,111,493,072	475,000,730	1,586,493,802	1,586,493,802	4,193,428	19,493,372	24,096,372	20.3
Rhode Island.....	188,224,459	64,312,211	252,536,673	111,993	2,289,722	5,822,715	15.3	1 53
Connecticut.....	228,791,267	98,386,118	327,177,385	1,276,111	4,083,628	8,368,733	23.7	1 64
Total.....	1,806,201,787	755,809,745	2,652,011,532	8,527,212	33,483,005	42,010,217	20.2	1 58
MIDDLE STATES.								
New York.....	2,329,282,359	322,657,647	2,651,940,006	10,466,532	45,926,422	56,392,675	18.5	2 19
New Jersey.....	412,632,638	129,885,723	542,518,361	1,742,201	7,215,864	8,958,065	10.4	1 56
Pennsylvania.....	1,540,007,957	143,151,050	1,683,459,016	\$6,298,408	22,305,926	28,634,334	22.0	1 69
Delaware.....	50,302,739	9,648,904	59,951,643	132,408	471,849	601,257	21.9	1 00
Maryland.....	368,442,913	128,861,762	497,307,675	1,218,413	4,219,019	5,437,462	22.4	1 09
District of Columbia.....	57,980,356	11,421,431	68,401,787	(a)	1,469,251	1,469,251	(a)	1 47
Total.....	4,818,648,062	745,929,526	5,564,578,488	19,858,012	81,608,335	101,466,347	19.5	1 82
SOUTHERN STATES.								
Virginia.....	233,601,599	74,853,536	308,455,135	1,125,028	3,517,174	4,642,302	24.2	1 50
West Virginia.....	105,009,306	34,622,390	139,622,705	752,763	1,301,216	2,056,979	36.5	1 47
North Carolina.....	191,708,326	51,040,576	242,748,802	1,561,000	345,720	1,370,412	1,916,132	18.0
South Carolina.....	177,441,100	50,089,375	227,530,475	1,560,135	4,013,333	4,573,478	33.0	1 37
Georgia.....	139,923,941	99,488,638	233,472,599	387,818	2,819,193	3,207,998	12.0	1 53
Florida.....	18,855,151	12,053,158	30,938,309	109,146	395,034	605,180	18.0	1 95
Alabama.....	77,731,008	45,493,220	122,867,228	260,147	1,801,831	2,061,931	12.6	1 67
Mississippi.....	79,469,530	31,158,599	110,628,129	471,909	1,999,570	2,384,475	19.8	2 15
Louisiana.....	122,362,267	37,800,149	160,162,436	515,634	3,850,222	4,395,876	12.4	2 74
Texas.....	205,185,224	113,875,510	328,060,734	519,827	4,018,333	4,568,716	12.0	1 42
Arkansas.....	55,708,383	39,409,976	94,118,360	561,300	1,204,339	1,303,099	30.3	2 12
Kentucky.....	26,085,908	8,478,063	350,563,971	1,093,623	4,061,394	5,201,017	21.3	1 48
Tennessee.....	195,644,200	16,184,338	211,778,533	928,609	1,860,172	2,783,781	33.2	1 51
Total.....	1,677,847,243	693,076,021	2,370,923,269	7,511,565	29,935,854	37,507,417	20.1	1 58
WESTERN STATES.								
Oregon.....	1,093,677,705	440,682,803	1,534,369,508	6,954,033	18,802,605	25,756,658	26.9	1 67
Indiana.....	538,683,239	139,131,822	727,815,131	3,394,442	8,949,188	12,313,630	27.4	1 69

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TABLE 18.—*Valuation and taxation—Continued.*

States.	Assessed valuation.			Taxation.			Per cent. of school of total.	Rate of taxation on \$100.
	Real estate.	Personal property.	Total.	School.	Other purposes.	Total.		
Illinois.....	575,141,053	211,175,311	786,316,394	6,329,680	18,256,328	24,586,018	25.7	3.12
Michigan.....	432,861,881	84,894,164	517,666,359	2,534,164	6,103,783	8,627,937	29.2	1.66
Wisconsin.....	314,783,721	91,183,030	425,971,751	1,906,489	5,681,836	7,588,325	25.1	1.72
Iowa.....	297,254,342	101,416,969	398,671,251	4,113,576	6,948,029	11,061,605	37.1	2.77
Minnesota.....	263,446,781	54,581,906	328,029,687	1,331,526	3,014,774	4,346,300	36.6	1.68
Missouri.....	381,985,112	130,810,689	512,795,801	2,496,197	7,773,539	10,269,736	24.3	1.92
Kansas.....	108,432,019	52,459,083	160,891,082	1,760,839	3,560,713	5,370,580	21.4	3.09
Nebraska.....	100,575,152	35,440,407	135,615,559	20,585,276	2,291,180	23,875,457	27.5	2.88
Colorado.....	63,604,197	18,867,496	82,471,693	424,628	1,227,380	2,152,068	19.7	2.88
Nevada.....	17,941,630	11,350,429	29,291,459	122,048	749,625	871,673	14.0	2.97
Oregon.....	32,581,966	19,957,118	52,532,084	224,932	880,010	1,113,342	20.1	2.12
California.....	465,273,383	118,304,451	584,578,036	2,709,757	9,918,218	12,628,005	21.4	2.16
Total.....	4,584,048,039	1,603,218,586	6,187,266,625	34,420,181	94,697,798	129,117,979	26.6	2.61
THE TERRITORIES.								
Arizona.....	5,847,253	5,847,253	9,270,214	49,667	213,369	293,036	16.9	3.16
North Dakota.....	13,333,918	6,987,112	20,321,530	102,714	375,352	478,066	21.4	2.35
Idaho.....	2,297,526	4,113,350	6,440,876	36,330	159,507	193,887	18.5	3.04
Montana.....	5,077,162	13,532,640	18,609,602	83,991	299,949	383,947	21.8	2.06
New Mexico.....	4,788,764	6,574,642	11,363,406	31,748	92,146	125,942	27.3	1.11
Utah.....	11,171,141	9,308,328	20,479,470	110,311	226,587	435,256	25.5	1.57
Washington.....	11,325,922	12,474,170	23,799,663	111,091	394,326	565,417	21.9	2.12
Wyoming.....	4,485,291	9,130,638	13,621,829	34,294	195,934	230,228	14.8	1.69
Total.....	60,020,880	68,192,740	128,213,629	594,543	2,051,218	2,648,761	22.4	2.06
The United States.....	13,036,766,925	3,866,226,618	16,902,993,543	70,971,511	241,779,210	312,750,721	22.6	1.85

No tax for the support of schools separate from other taxes is levied, but the expenses of the schools, amounting to \$438,567, are paid out of the district revenue.

TABLE 19.—*Selected cities, valuation and taxation.*

Cities.	Assessed valuation.			Taxation.						
	Real estate.	Personal property.	Total.	Rate of levy on \$100.				State.	County.	City.
				State.	County.	City.	Total.			
New York, N. Y.....	\$918,124,320	\$175,924,935	\$1,094,049,325	\$0.31	(a)	\$2.24	\$2.58	\$3,751,062	(a)	\$24,475,927
Anhurie, N. Y.....	7,216,860	1,587,550	8,804,410	24	\$1.14	2.30	2.48	20,870	\$1,997	207,419
Philadelphia, Pa.....	5,169,232	52,560,377	581,820,593	63	(a)	2.62	2.05	260,812	(a)	11,473,332
Harrisburg, Pa.....	5,271,698	112,931	5,384,629	01	80	2.72	3.62	565	52,166	159,621
Manchester, N. H.....	13,126,737	3,495,242	16,621,979	24	24	1.11	1.59	39,724	33,366	184,460
Chicago, Ill.....	91,152,222	26,817,801	117,970,035	27	87	3.20	4.33	313,973	1,201,945	3,776,451
Boston, Mass.....	428,777,000	184,545,691	613,322,691	02	04	1.18	1.24	122,665	282,128	7,666,334
St. Louis, Mo.....	136,071,670	25,216,730	163,288,400	40	(a)	1.83	2.22	655,256	(a)	3,017,427
Kansas City, Mo.....	5,500,500	1,000	5,501,500	40	75	3.40	4.55	42,306	73,329	2,239,627
Baltimore, Md.....	183,580,023	60,163,158	244,642,181	19	(a)	1.33	2.21	42,421	42,421	2,278,851
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	131,272,619	38,033,016	169,303,635	29	22	4.0	2.91	490,986	365,700	4,070,225
San Francisco, Cal.....	199,280,810	54,196,550	244,477,360	55	(a)	1.69	2.24	1,344,625	(a)	4,131,667
New Orleans, La.....	71,424,383	29,369,969	91,794,350	60	(a)	2.04	2.24	546,709	(a)	1,859,579
Newark, N. J.....	65,733,315	17,631,095	83,364,410	25	41	1.42	2.08	209,612	345,176	1,182,325
Louisville, Ky.....	49,795,000	16,014,000	65,809,000	46	(a)	1.82	2.28	299,431	(a)	1,200,056
Detroit, Mich.....	63,931,155	10,210,725	73,193,880	27	20	0.99	1.46	227,817	165,644	1,499,487
Providence, R. I.....	80,431,108	28,765,000	115,626,700	11	(a)	1.23	2.00	20,611	(a)	824,230
Richmond, Va.....	28,751,389	10,738,967	39,529,356	46	(a)	1.40	1.86	181,538	(a)	1,217,691
Petersburg, Va.....	5,921,485	3,210,385	9,132,330	45	(a)	1.50	1.93	41,183	(a)	1,414,114
New Haven, Conn.....	31,866,224	12,102,163	46,968,387	15	(a)	1.25	1.40	70,453	(a)	137,040
Charleston, S. C.....	14,553,818	7,957,605	22,513,423	48	63	2.00	3.10	107,081	140,896	1,278,224
Minneapolis, Minn.....	16,809,149	6,606,584	23,415,733	15	20	1.11	1.46	35,124	46,831	565,845
Memphis, Tenn.....	10,763,400	2,573,700	13,337,100	20	80	2.00	3.00	26,674	16,694	266,735
Memphis, Tenn.....	10,763,414	1,100,699	12,754,111	20	80	1.05	1.30	23,300	90,367	1,404,103
Atlanta, Ga.....	12,900,000	5,100,000	18,000,000	35	33	1.50	2.20	63,000	63,000	270,000
Savannah, Ga.....	9,070,000	5,990,444	15,069,445	45	35	2.13	2.93	67,772	52,713	321,058
Portland, Me.....	19,825,800	10,359,128	30,181,928	39	07	2.04	2.50	117,835	19,886	616,902
Wheeling, W. Va.....	10,095,011	4,678,589	14,173,600	36	54	0.78	1.68	51,000	76,500	110,554
Mobile, Ala.....	8,599,984	4,481,814	12,991,795	60	50	1.45	2.60	84,447	61,959	181,381
Galveston, Tex.....	11,386,392	3,515,464	14,901,856	50	70	1.50	2.70	75,000	105,000	233,973
Buffalo, N. Y.....	12,500,000	2,700,000	15,200,000	36	32	1.50	2.30	50,000	61,000	406,573
Little Rock, Ark.....	3,254,411	1,210,704	4,463,205	65	150	1.70	2.50	20,024	66,973	75,908
Worcester, Mass.....	31,758,100	8,877,671	39,585,771	63	11	1.40	1.56	14,235	46,497	557,193
Lynn, Mass.....	17,316,639	5,171,225	22,487,861	63	10	1.47	1.61	7,460	24,363	332,481

No tax levied.

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TABLE 20.—Drawn from returns of school statistics from the several States and Territories for the year 1881, showing number of youth not enrolled in school, and expense of supplying them with necessary school-houses and teachers and text-books for school of three-months' length for first year.

States and Territories.						
	Number of school age not enrolled in school.	Number of school-houses and teachers required for them.	Cost of building school-houses required.	Cost of qualifying teachers.	Cost of a three-months' school-teacher's wages.	Cost of text-books.
Alabama.....	246,450	b4,929	\$1,478,700	\$1,232,250	€\$443,610	f\$7,393
Arkansas.....	177,097	3,452	1,044,600	870,500	313,380	5,223
California.....	47,382		253,000	226,700	85,050	1,417
Colorado.....	14,304	293	80,300	74,000	26,400	4,141
Connecticut.....	24,364	487	146,100	121,750	43,830	730
Delaware.....	8,163	163	48,900	40,750	13,570	244
Florida.....	49,362	987	296,100	246,750	88,830	1,485
Georgia.....	216,819	4,336	1,300,800	1,081,000	294,240	6,504
Illinois.....	300,565	6,012	1,803,600	1,563,000	541,080	9,018
Indiana.....	24,288	4,221	126,200	106,000	37,510	6,013
Iowa.....	165,217	3,221	497,200	460,000	120,000	4,828
Kansas.....	99,145	1,983	534,900	493,750	178,470	2,974
Kentucky.....	313,198	6,364	1,891,200	1,576,000	567,360	9,456
Louisiana.....	209,044	4,181	1,254,300	1,045,250	376,290	6,271
Maine.....	65,869	1,277	383,100	319,250	114,930	1,915
Maryland.....	160,292	3,206	991,800	801,500	283,940	4,808
Massachusetts.....						2,056,649
Michigan.....	146,651	2,931	870,300	732,750	205,700	4,388
Minnesota.....	123,615	3,473	711,900	618,250	222,570	3,709
Mississippi.....	182,673	3,653	1,095,900	913,250	285,770	5,479
Missouri.....	271,108	4,942	1,482,600	1,235,500	441,780	7,413
Nebraska.....	52,048	1,041	312,300	260,250	93,690	1,561
Nevada.....	2,204	44	13,290	11,000	3,960	66
New Hampshire.....						28,226
New Jersey.....	132,089	2,611	762,300	660,250	237,690	3,901
New York.....	640,819	12,817	3,845,100	3,204,250	1,153,530	19,222
North Carolina.....	227,356	4,547	1,364,100	1,130,750	409,230	6,820
Ohio.....	318,579	6,371	1,911,300	1,592,750	573,390	9,556
Oregon.....	27,143	543	162,900	135,750	45,870	814
Penns. (Penn.).....	490,628	9,812	2,943,600	2,453,000	883,080	14,718
Rhode Island.....	8,163	487	48,400	40,750	11,670	2,241
South Carolina.....	128,321	2,907	776,200	644,000	231,300	3,846
Tennessee.....	262,407	524	1,574,400	1,312,900	472,320	7,829
Texas.....	43,741	875	282,500	218,750	75,750	1,312
Vermont.....	24,817	496	148,800	124,000	44,640	714
Virginia.....	317,610	6,635	1,905,600	1,588,000	571,680	9,258
West Virginia.....	67,988	1,355	477,700	393,750	122,310	2,088
Wisconsin.....	121,236	3,824	1,147,200	966,000	344,160	5,735
Alaska.....						2,453,050
Arizona.....	5,727	114	34,200	28,500	10,260	171
Dakota.....	13,364	267	80,100	65,750	24,630	400
District of Columbia.....	16,259	325	97,500	81,250	29,250	487
Idaho.....	1,440	25	8,700	7,250	2,610	43
Indian Territory (Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Seminoles).....						18,603
Montana.....	1,680	95	28,500	23,150	6,320	112
New Mexico.....	24,500	497	147,000	120,000	44,100	732
Utah.....	15,881	311	93,300	77,750	27,990	466
Washington.....	9,145	183	54,900	43,750	16,470	274
Wyoming.....	1,255	24	7,200	6,100	2,160	36
Total.....	6,030,936	120,567	36,170,100	30,141,850	10,851,930	180,782
						77,347,662

a A large number attend school beyond the school age, which carries the enrollment above the total school population, so that the absence of those of school age does not appear. b Allowing one teacher to each fifty pupils. c Allowing one school-house of a cost of \$300 to fifty pupils. d Allowing one year at a normal school at a cost of \$250. e This is the additional cost of a school of three months for the non-attending persons of school age according to the returns for 1881; other returns can be made for 1882. f This is an expense incurred by each parent, and, though not a public tax, is a part of the additional expense to be incurred by the communities.

TABLE 21.—Table drawn from the returns of school statistics from the Southern States and District of Columbia for the year 1881, showing the number of youth not enrolled in school and the expense of supplying them with the necessary school-houses and teachers and the books for a school of three-months' length for the first year.

Southern States and District of Columbia.						
	Number of school age not enrolled in school.	Number of school-houses and teachers required for them.	Cost of building school-houses required.	Cost of qualifying teachers.	Cost of a three months' school-teacher's wages.	Cost of books for pupils.
Alabama.....	246,450	a4,929	b\$1,478,700	c\$1,232,250	d\$443,610	e\$7,393
Arkansas.....	174,097	3,482	1,044,600	870,500	313,380	5,223
California.....						
Colorado.....						
Connecticut.....						
Delaware.....	8,163	163	48,900	40,750	15,570	244
Florida.....	49,362	987	296,100	216,750	88,830	1,485
Georgia.....	216,819	4,336	1,300,800	1,084,000	300,240	6,504
Illinois.....						
Indiana.....						
Iowa.....						
Kansas.....						
Kentucky.....	315,198	6,304	1,891,200	1,576,000	567,360	9,456
Louisiana.....	209,044	4,181	1,251,300	1,045,250	376,290	6,271

Total cost of school-houses, expense of preparation of teachers, pay of teachers, and school-books.

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TABLE 21.—Table drawn from the returns of school statistics for the Southern States and District of Columbia for the year 1881, &c.—Continued.

Southern States and District of Columbia.		Number of school age not enrolled in school.	Number of schoolhouses and teachers required for them.	Cost of building school-houses required.	Cost of qualifying teachers.	Cost of a three months' school-teacher's wages.	Cost of books for pupils.	Total cost of school-houses, expense of preparation of teachers, pay of teachers, and school-books.
Maine		\$160,232	\$3,206	\$961,800	\$801,500	\$288,510	\$1,809	\$3,666,649
Maryland								
Massachusetts								
Michigan								
Minnesota								
Mississippi	182,675	3,653	1,095,900	913,230	324,770	5,479	2,313,399	
Missouri	247,108	4,942	1,482,600	1,235,500	444,780	7,413	3,170,293	
Nebraska								
Nevada								
New Hampshire								
New York								
North Carolina	227,356	4,547	1,364,100	1,136,750	409,230	6,820	2,916,920	
Ohio								
Oregon								
Pennsylvania								
Rhode Island								
South Carolina	128,821	2,576	772,800	644,000	231,840	5,861	1,652,504	
Tennessee	262,407	5,248	1,574,400	1,312,000	472,320	8,829	3,366,542	
Texas	43,741	875	262,500	218,750	78,750	1,312	561,798	
Vermont								
Virginia	317,619	6,352	1,905,600	1,588,000	571,680	9,528	4,074,808	
West Virginia	67,988	1,359	407,700	339,750	123,310	2,038	\$71,798	
Alabama								
Arizona								
Dakota								
District of Columbia	16,259	323	97,500	\$1,250	29,250	437	208,487	
Total	2,873,399	57,465	17,239,500	14,366,250	5,173,750	86,143	36,864,648	

^a Allowing one teacher to each fifty pupils. ^b Allowing one school house at a cost of \$300 to fifty pupils. ^c Allowing one year at normal school cost \$250. ^d This is the additional cost of a school of three months for the non-attending persons of school age, according to the returns of 1881; other returns can be made for 1882. ^e This is an expense incurred by each parent, and, though not a public tax, is a part of the additional expense to be incurred by the community.

TABLE 22.—Table based on returns to the Bureau of Education for 1881, showing legal school population; total school expenditure; per capita of school expenditure; proportion of \$15,000,000 based on number of persons by census of 1880 ten years old and upward who can not read; proportion of \$15,000,000 to per capita of school population of 1881; total of school expenditure including \$15,000,000; and total per capita expenditure including \$15,000,000.

States and Territories.	School population, 1881.	Total school expenditure, 1881.	Per capita of school expenditure, 1881.	Proportion of \$15,000,000, national aid, based on literacy of 1880.	Total of school expenditure, 1881, increased by proportion of \$15,000,000 based on literacy of 1881.	Per capita of school expenditure, 1881, increased by proportion of \$15,000,000.	
Alabama	\$122,739	\$410,690	\$0 97	\$1,127,869 83	\$2 66	\$1,538,559 83	\$3 64
Arkansas	272,511	388,412	1 42	466,733 53	1 71	\$85,147 53	3 13
California	211,237	3,047,605	14 42	147,983 82	3 19	3,195,683 82	15 12
Colorado	46,104	557,151	1 03	28,372 77	69	3,535,151 77	15 11
Connecticut	112,745	1,707,041	12 07	63,032 72	11	1,543,624 72	14 71
Delaware	37,583	207,281	5 66	51,514 96	1 38	238,795 96	6 04
Florida	88,677	114,893	1 29	213,887 07	2 46	328,782 07	3 75
Georgia	461,616	498,533	1 08	1,360,592 42	3 95	1,839,129 42	4 03
Illinois	711,343	7,858,411	7 84	294,882 21	29	8,153,294 21	8 13
Indiana	741,243	4,528,754	6 34	213,247 37	29	4,741,518 37	5 63
Iowa	351,930	5,129,810	8 02	85,878 82	14	5,985,408 82	8 76
Kansas	348,179	1,007,671	2 77	5,032 74	2 05	7,682 74	11 90
Kentucky	553,638	1,248,524	2 25	786,434 56	1 42	2,034,956 56	3 67
Louisiana	271,414	441,484	1 62	905,612 35	3 33	1,347,096 35	4 96
Maine	213,927	1,089,414	5 09	55,379 33	25	1,114,793 33	5 85
Maryland	319,201	1,601,580	5 02	339,281 80	1 08	1,943,864 80	6 08
Massachusetts	512,680	5,776,512	18 47	230,383 15	73	6,066,926 21	19 21
Michigan	312,149	3,185,935	6 50	143,623 15	27	3,331,568 15	22 57
Minnesota	309,323	1,369,492	4 87	62,598 53	20	1,539,066 53	5 68
Mississippi	419,963	737,758	1 80	961,331 15	2 28	1,719,112 15	4 09
Missouri	723,484	3,152,175	4 33	422,833 63	58	3,575,017 63	4 94
Nebraska	152,821	1,165,103	7 62	23,859 18	15	1,188,958 18	7 78
Nevada	10,853	140,419	13 33	11,279 34	1 07	151,698 31	14 40
New Hampshire	60,889	57,722	9 47	36,957 17	59	613,546 17	10 67
New Jersey	231,941	1,912,024	5 70	119,203 82	35	2,131,655 26	6 65
New York	1,662,122	10,923,402	6 57	507,539 73	11 49	11,430,941 73	6 87
North Carolina	408,072	409,659	8 7	120,632 94	2 39	1,530,351 94	3 26
Ohio	1,063,337	8,133,622	7 65	264,235 68	8 397	874,681 68	7 89
Oregon	61,641	318,331	5 16	16,375 30	31	331,705 30	5 43
Pennsylvania	1,422,377	7,994,705	5 62	415,193 35	31	8,439,814 35	5 93
Rhode Island	53,077	549,937	10 36	53,170 28	1 04	593,103 28	11 88
South Carolina	269,727	345,554	1 31	98,441 34	3 73	1,324,775 34	5 05
Tennessee	545,576	633,093	1 16	1,201,296 74	2 20	1,833,305 71	3 36

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TABLE 22.—Table based on returns to the Bureau of Education for 1881, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.		School population, 1881.	Total school expenditure, 1881.	Per capita of school expenditure, 1881.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 national aid, based on illiteracy of 1880.	Per capita of \$15,000,000 to school population, 1881.	Total of school expenditure, 1881, increased by proportion of \$15,000,000 based on illiteracy of 1880.	Per capita of school expenditure, 1881, increased by proportion of \$15,000,000.
Texas.....	230,527	\$753,346	\$2 26	\$780,455 20	\$3 37	\$1,523,801 26	\$2 65	
Vermont.....	99,463	447,252	4 99	39,570 68	39	480,828 68	4 80	
Virginia.....	556,665	1,100,239	1 97	98,067 77	1 95	2,198,306 77	3 94	
West Virginia.....	213,191	761,250	3 57	158,516 89	74	919,766 89	4 31	
Wisconsin.....	491,358	2,279,103	4 65	117,535 88	23	2,396,961 88	4 57	
Alaska.....								
Arizona.....	9,671	41,628	4 66	16,740 74	1 74	61,368 82	6 41	
Dakota.....	35,815	314,444	9 00	9,026 80	3	324,908 82	8 57	
District of Columbia.....	43,588	527,312	12 10	65,613 89	1 50	587,926 89	13 74	
Idaho.....	7,520	44,840	5 96	4,213 66	56	49,055 66	6 52	
Cherokees.....								
Chickasaws.....								
Cochise.....								
Crows.....								
Seminoles.....								
Montana.....	9,895	55,751	5 63	4,680 28	47	60,441 33	6 10	
New Mexico.....	20,255	28,973	99	161,415 72	5 51	190,322 72	6 50	
Utah.....	42,353	199,264	4 70	14,778 15	34	214,040 15	5 05	
Washington.....	23,899	114,379	4 78	9,719 79	40	124,088 79	5 19	
Wyoming.....	4,112	28,504	6 94	1,300 64	31	29,804 64	7 24	

TABLE 23.—Showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive in the division of \$15,000,000 among them all in proportion to their relative population ten years of age and upward who can not write (census of 1880, 6,239,958).

Relative amounts used by each State.	States.	Number who can not write.	Amount.	Relative amounts used by each State.		States.	Number who can not write.	Amount.
				Relative amounts used by each State.	States.			
NEW ENGLAND STATES.								
33 Maine.....	22,170	\$53,429 70						
36 New Hampshire.....	14,302	34,467 82						
35 Vermont.....	15,837	38,167 17						
19 Massachusetts.....	92,980	224,081 50						
32 Rhode Island.....	24,793	69,751 13						
20 Connecticut.....	28,321	68,501 84						
Total.....	198,506	478,399 46						
MIDDLE STATES.								
12 New York.....	219,600	529,236 00						
26 New Jersey.....	53,249	128,320 09						
11 Pennsylvania.....	225,014	549,513 74						
84 Delaware.....	19,414	46,757 74						
Total.....	520,277	1,258,857 57						
SOUTHERN STATES.								
3 Alabama.....	453,447	1,044,607 27						
14 Arkansas.....	202,015	486,856 15						
7 Florida.....	83,748	163,900 03						
1 Georgia.....	520,116	1,221,202 03						
8 Kentucky.....	348,392	839,624 72						
9 Louisiana.....	318,380	767,225 80						
16 Maryland.....	134,483	324,116 08						
6 Mississippi.....	373,201	899,414 41						
3 Missouri.....	408,753	1,118,177 75						
7 North Carolina.....	309,348	800,363 08						
5 Tennessee.....	410,722	989,840 02						
10 Texas.....	316,432	762,601 12						
4 Virginia.....	430,352	1,037,148 32						
20 West Virginia.....	85,576	205,756 16						
Total.....	4,695,981	11,318,394 21						
WESTERN STATES.								
15 Illinois.....	145,397	350,406 77						
18 Indiana.....	110,761	266,934 01						
27 Iowa.....	46,609	112,321 69						
23 Kansas.....	39,478	95,137 16						
29 Michigan.....	63,233	133,572 43						
17 Ohio.....	24,546	58,500 00						
24 Wisconsin.....	131,841	317,736 81						
Total.....	627,911	1,513,265 51						
PACIFIC STATES.								
25 California.....	53,430	128,766 30						
38 Colorado.....	10,473	25,242 31						
37 Nebraska.....	11,523	27,782 08						

TABLE 23.—Showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive, &c.—Continued.

43 Nevada.....	4,009	\$9,809 29
49 Oregon.....	7,423	17,889 43
Total.....		
	86,924	209,486 44
TERRITORIES AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.		
41 Arizona.....	5,842	14,079 22
42 Dakota.....	4,221	11,618 61
45 Idaho.....	1,773	4,254 98
46 Montana.....	1,707	4,113 87
39 New Mexico.....	57,156	137,745 96
44 Utah.....	8,822	20,970 86
47 Washington.....	3,889	9,372 49
31 District of Columbia.....	356	1,339 95
Total.....		
	110,353	265,640 93

The amount to each illiterate who can not write is about \$3.00.

TABLE 24.—Table showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive in the division of \$15,000,000 among them all in proportion to their relative population ten years of age and upward who can not read (census, 1880).

States and Territories.	No. of such illiterates in each State.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 to each State.
Alabama.....	370,279	\$1,127,803 83
Arkansas.....	5,499	16,740 82
California.....	133,329	49,735 53
Colorado.....	45,538	14,779 44
Connecticut.....	9,321	32,373 77
Dakota.....	20,986	63,933 36
Delaware.....	3,094	9,424 32
District of Columbia.....	16,912	51,514 96
Florida.....	21,341	65,613 89
Georgia.....	70,161	213,851 90
Idaho.....	406,683	1,300,996 12
Illinois.....	1,384	4,215 66
Indiana.....	96,809	294,881 21
Kansas.....	70,005	213,247 37
Kentucky.....	28,117	97,344 24
Louisiana.....	25,503	77,681 14
Maine.....	18,181	55,379 33

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

TABLE 24.—Table showing sum of money, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.	No. of such illiterates in each State.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 to each State.
Maryland.....	111,387	\$339,284 80
Massachusetts.....	75,635	239,381 21
Michigan.....	47,112	133,563 15
Minnesota.....	20,561	62,598 53
Mississippi.....	315,612	961,341 57
Missouri.....	138,438	422,693 27
Montana.....	1,690	4,669 38
Nebraska.....	7,830	23,850 18
Nevada.....	3,703	11,274 31
New Hampshire.....	11,982	35,497 17
New Jersey.....	39,136	119,208 56
New Mexico.....	52,991	161,720 72
New York.....	168,575	506,539 71
North Carolina.....	357,890	1,120,692 80
Ohio.....	86,754	264,252 68
Oregon.....	5,375	16,375 33
Pennsylvania.....	146,138	445,136 35
Rhode Island.....	17,456	53,170 98
South Carolina.....	321,781	980,141 83
Tennessee.....	391,183	1,204,552 71
Texas.....	232,223	757,653 52
Utah.....	4,851	14,776,963 15
Vermont.....	12,963	33,576 68
Virginia.....	330,493	1,038,067 77
Washington.....	3,191	9,719 79
West Virginia.....	52,041	158,516 89
Wisconsin.....	38,693	117,558 83
Wyoming.....	27	1,300 61
Total.....	4,923,451	15,000,000 00

Mr. President, the Committee on Education and Labor has also reported another bill, the purpose of which is to provide a perpetual fund for distribution among the States and Territories for the support of common schools. For the first ten years it is proposed that that distribution be made on the basis of illiteracy, and even afterward on that of actual population. The proposition is to found a fund, and to increase that fund by placing to its account every year the proceeds of the sales of public lands and one-half the income from the land grant railroads of the country, so called, and to distribute not the money itself thus received, but the interest thereof.

Of course, at the beginning the amount for distribution would be very trifling, as the interest upon the three, four, or five million, whatever the amount might be, which would be passed to the credit of this fund as the accumulation from the two sources mentioned for the first year would be very little indeed, but gradually it would increase, and in the course of ten years the amount of interest that would be likely to accrue for distribution would become of essential consequence. It might reach in ten years the amount of three or four million dollars, and even afterward it would continue to increase.

That bill has in substance been before the country for ten or twelve years. The honorable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] whom I do not now see in his seat was one of the earliest and strongest advocates of that measure, and the honorable Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] has identified his name with it as he has with so many other of the great measures of legislation which have been enacted during the last twenty years in this country. That measure has received the sanction of the Senate upon, I think, more than one occasion. It has failed to pass the House of Representatives heretofore. At some time that bill will come up for consideration by the Senate.

The Committee on Education and Labor looked upon these two bills as entirely harmonious in their relation with each other, the one now being discussed relating only to a temporary exigency, proposing to distribute a large amount of money immediately to reach an existing difficulty, in order to equalize the educational condition of the country as a whole, and the other bill would naturally supplement it, and about the time the fund from the temporary-aid bill shall disappear something substantial will be coming from this.

I make these remarks at this time in order that I may introduce, as bearing upon the general subject of national aid to education and as contributing something to the symmetry of the discussion, which must include that bill earlier or later, certain documentary matter. I present table No. 25, showing the aggregate amount received from the disposal of public lands in the past twenty years, and one-half the yearly amount received from the railroads, and the yearly income to be derived upon an average yearly amount at 4 per cent. for each of the next ten years for school purposes; a like table, No. 26, giving the income from railroads from three and a half years; and table No. 27 showing the disposals of the public lands and the amount received therefrom in each fiscal year from July 1, 1862, to June 30, 1882, inclusive. I think these tables, in connection with the others which I have already introduced, will furnish to the Senate and to everybody practically all the statistical information that exists in this country in the possession of the Government, from its archives, as bearing on the subject-matter of education.

TABLE 25.—Showing aggregate amount received from the disposal of public lands in the past twenty years, \$49,874,303.38; average amount per year, \$2,443,715.17; one-half the yearly amount received from railroads, \$223,689.92.

Years.	Fund.	Income for distribution.	To schools.	To agricultural colleges.
First year.....	\$2,667,405 09	\$105,666 20	\$7,1,150 80	\$37,565 40
Second year.....	5,331,810 18	213,392 40	142,261 60	71,130 89
Third year.....	8,902,215 27	320,088 60	215,392 40	106,696 20
Fourth year.....	10,669,620 36	426,784 80	281,223 20	142,261 60
Fifth year.....	13,357,023 45	533,481 00	355,651 00	177,827 00
Sixth year.....	16,004,433 54	640,177 20	426,784 80	213,222 40
Seventh year.....	18,671,835 63	746,873 40	497,915 60	218,957 80
Eighth year.....	21,339,246 72	853,569 60	569,645 40	254,523 20
Ninth year.....	24,006,645 81	950,265 80	640,177 20	320,685 60
Tenth year.....	26,671,050 90	1,056,962 00	711,308 60	355,654 00

TABLE 26.—List of cash payments into the Treasury of the United States made by the Central Pacific Railroad Company on account of "25 per cent. of net earnings," under the act of May 7, 1878, from July 1, 1878, to December 31, 1881:

Six months ending December 31, 1878 (report for 1879, page 38).....	\$181,329 51
Twelve months ending December 31, 1879 (report for 1880, page 37).....	220,076 32
Twelve months ending December 31, 1880 (report for 1881, page 29).....	144,436 74
Twelve months ending December 31, 1882 (report for 1882, page 27).....	79,149 91

Total for three and a half years..... 663,932 49

Amounts found to be due in cash from the Union Pacific Railway Company on account of "25 per cent. of net earnings," under the act of May 7, 1878, for the period from July 1, 1878, to December 31, 1881; but owing to questions in dispute payments may not yet have been made by the company (see report for 1882, pages 33-34):

Six months ending December 31, 1878 (report for 1881, page 14).....	\$122,779 31
Twelve months ending December 31, 1879 (report for 1881, page 13).....	524,058 32
Twelve months ending December 31, 1880 (report for 1881, page 16).....	721,903 69
Twelve months ending December 31, 1881 (report for 1882, page 31).....	590,191 31

Total for three and a half years..... 2,259,002 03

Less amounts due the company for services rendered prior to the act, which had been withheld by the Treasury Department, namely:

Union Pacific (report for 1881, page 18).....	\$191,241 31
Kansas Pacific (report for 1881, page 18).....	853,920 71

1,337,165 03

Due United States in cash..... 901,837 03

January 6, 1883.—Payments made during the last three and a half years by the Central Pacific, average yearly.....	189,712 13
One-half of same.....	237,667 72
Total per year.....	447,379 85
One-half of same.....	223,669 92

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, January 8, 1883.

TABLE 27.—Statement showing the disposition of the public lands and the amount received therefrom in each fiscal year from July 1, 1862, to June 30, 1882, inclusive.

Year.	Acres.	Amount.
1863.....	2,966,698 43	\$232,239 68
1864.....	3,281,865 52	757,817 92
1865.....	4,518,738 46	900,131 16
1866.....	4,629,312 87	821,645 52
1867.....	7,111,114 50	1,347,862 52
1868.....	6,658,700 40	1,092,156 50
1869.....	7,666,151 97	4,472,886 28
1870.....	8,065,413 00	3,663,513 90
1871.....	10,765,765 39	2,929,284 70
1872.....	11,861,975 61	3,218,101 00
1873.....	13,030,606 87	3,408,515 50
1874.....	9,530,572 93	2,469,938 50
1875.....	7,741,200 40	1,428,277 00
1876.....	6,524,236 26	747,215 88
1877.....	4,849,767 70	1,452,969 13
1878.....	8,686,178 88	2,022,552 16
1879.....	9,333,883 29	1,883,113 56
1880.....	14,792,371 63	2,290,161 60
1881.....	10,128,173 25	4,402,112 53
1882.....	13,998,780 27	7,459,838 82

In addition to the area and amount given for 1882 there were disposed of Indian lands 310,386.13 acres for \$631,617.22, which, added to the total for 1882, made a grand total for 1882 of 14,399,245.49 acres and \$9,334,516.04.

Mr. President, I now come to certain propositions which I think are fairly deducible from the premises already laid down. These propositions are, I think, true:

First. That intelligence and virtue generally diffused among the masses of the people are necessary conditions to the existence of republican government in the nation and in the States.

Second. That in so far as ignorance and vice exist republican governments fail, and that although the forms of freedom may continue, yet the substance will be eaten out and ultimately the fabric itself will fail.

Third. That there is now in all parts of the country a dangerous degree of ignorance among the people, and that those invested with the sovereignty, which is the suffrage, are by reason of ignorance to a dangerous degree unfit to exercise the functions of government.

Fourth. That this mass of ignorance is increasing and not diminishing, although there has been a slightly greater increase of population than of illiteracy relatively during the decade from 1870 to 1880 in the country as a whole.

Fifth. That in many parts of the country conditions are growing rapidly worse rather than better, and that the evil is of that peculiar nature that the local power and disposition to apply the remedy grows less as the necessity for it increases.

Sixth. That the danger to the country is everywhere, although the disease may be largely local; that ignorance anywhere circulates everywhere and poisons the political and social life of each State and of the whole people.

Seventh. That the remedy must be applied by those who perceive the danger; that if there is anywhere indifference to the remedy it proves that there is the more occasion for its use, and that the insensibility of the patient requires at once such measures on the part of those still in relatively sound health as will prevent the spreading of the plague; and that the cry of physicians and nurses for help should confound our action rather than the convulsions or the stolidity of the patients.

Eighth. But in this case there is neither indifference nor stolidity; there is simply an inability to combat the plague unaided and a cry of distress. Ignorance is worse in a republic than the pestilence.

Ninth. That the exceptional degree of illiteracy prevailing in some parts of the country as it constitutes a common danger, so it is the result historically of causes for which the whole country is responsible, and that those portions of the land which have been free from the immediate presence of the institution to which we trace the evil are not without participation in the guilt as well as the lure which appertained to it.

That everywhere the pharisee business is played out and the prayer of the publican is in order.

Tenth. Those parts of the country where there is least illiteracy have as a rule received already very largely pecuniary assistance from sources which originated in fortunate location and the wise providence of those who lived before them, and that there is justice in the request for help made by those whose ancestors acquired and defended the soil wherein these happy millions and glorious institutions now repose in prosperity and strength.

Eleventh. That there is no State or Territory in the Union where the facilities for common-school education should not be greatly increased, and none where twice the amount of expenditure and effort now going on might not profitably be made.

Twelfth. That local taxation is very heavy, falling chiefly upon homesteads and visible personal property and the estates of those least able to bear taxation, which should come from the surplus of society and not from its primary means of existence, while the national income is derived mainly from things either better not consumed at all, and therefore the more heavily taxed the better still, because there will be the less of that harm which comes from consumption, or from articles paid for by those who have the surplus earnings and accumulated wealth of society.

Thirteenth. That since, at the present time, the national taxation is far less burdensome to the masses of the people, upon whom falls much more heavily the weight of the support of State and local institutions, and also since the existence of the nation is as much imperiled by ignorance as the perpetuity of the States, therefore the common good requires the appropriation of national aid to the support and maintenance of common schools.

Fourteenth. That this aid should be distributed in such way and should so long continue as is necessary, in order to equalize the facilities for common-school education, and to once elevate the status of the masses of the community to a high standard of intelligence, at which point and after which the community would, in self-defense and from the instinct which inclines men to keep a good when they possess it, be sure to educate itself sufficiently without national help. This is proved: that systems of education are best supported and most firmly fixed in the most intelligent States. Those States would as soon surrender their liberties as their schools. They are synonymous.

I now pass to consider the ability of the different sections to bear taxation. The ability of communities to bear taxation is not in proportion to their relative total wealth or property. But there must first be deducted as properly exempt from any imposition so much property and producing power as is necessary to subsistence, and taxation can not be sustained except upon the surplus remaining, if any. The valuation per capita of the New England States is \$661; of the Middle States, \$473; of the Western States, \$334; of the Territories, \$211; of the Southern States, \$155; of the colored population, not over \$5; average of whole country, \$337.

But the ability to bear taxation depends upon producing power at the time the levy is made as much as upon accumulated property, for property will not sell and consequently can not pay unless producing forces are active.

The census shows that from 1870 to 1880 in the States of Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee, thirteen States, there was a net loss in valuation of \$392,568,84. In Texas there was a gain of \$170,631,588; in Georgia, \$12,253,080; North Carolina, \$25,721,580; total, \$208,606,246. Consequently the total loss of valuation in the other ten States enumerated was the enormous sum of \$411,475,090 in ten years.

Bear in mind these are not the ten years during which the slaves were liberated. These were the ten years between 1870 and 1880.

Mr. MILLER, of New York. If it will not interrupt the Senator, I should like to ask him if it is not possible that that difference or shrinkage of value in some of the Southern States is accounted for by the difference in the value of money in the census reports, being currency in 1870 and gold in 1880?

Mr. BLAIR. I can not say in regard to that. That is an open question upon which everybody can draw his own inference. But during the same time in the country at large, as the Senator knows, the aggregate valuation, which undoubtedly was made upon the same substantial basis in all parts of the country, very nearly doubled. It went from sixteen billion to thirty billion dollars or more, if I recollect aright. I will not vouch for figures, but I think it was from sixteen to thirty billion dollars, the actual values. The Senator will observe, too, that in three of the States enumerated there was an actual increase: in North Carolina of \$25,000,000, in Texas of \$170,000,000, and in Georgia of \$12,000,000. I apprehend that the valuation is substantially on the same basis.

Mr. EDMUNDS. How do you account for it?

Mr. BLAIR. I account for it in the actual diminution in the cash value of the property in those States, if the figures are worth anything.

Mr. EDMUNDS. But how do you account for it?

Mr. BLAIR. From the general influences that operated in that section of the country. I think the data before the country very plainly show in most of these same States a quickening and revival in the business tendencies and in the business activity of the people and a general inclination to the investment of capital from abroad. The people are turning their attention to industrial questions, and very rapidly. The face of the South is being transformed, and the old poetic quotation will come in one of these days; the South will really bud and blossom as the rose, and that before a great while. But between the years 1870 and 1880 we all know the condition of the Southern country, and I do not think I could elucidate the subject in such a way that it would be better understood than the honorable Senator from Vermont and others already understand it.

The lack of education among the masses of the people is undoubtedly one more reason why property depreciated; perhaps the greatest reason was the absence of schools, and that was one cause why Northern immigration failed to find its home in the South rather than in the West. If there is anything that a Northern man or a Northern family wants, it is a chance to educate the children; it will not go where there are no schools. It is only primarily by the establishment of schools that that portion of the country can avail itself of the natural tendencies to immigration in that direction, either of individuals or of capital largely.

The decrease in the losing States varied from 45 to 78 per cent. I call attention to the thread of what I was saying, showing a decrease in the valuation in ten of those States of \$411,000,000. During the same ten years the increase of population was 4,006,982, which I suppose at least 30 per cent. of the population of the same thirteen States in 1870.

Ignorance and poverty procreate faster than intelligence and wealth.

Again, ability to bear taxation for a certain purpose will depend upon the other existing demands for the application of revenue. In a great section of our country the fixed capital, the houses, structures of all kinds for residence and business of every description, highways, and other means of transportation, &c., were largely destroyed by fire and sword, and when for that reason they have to be replaced or must be produced as a primary condition to existence and advancement for any reason, the taxation, such as poor and struggling communities can bear, must be greatly absorbed in these uses. A community has certain primary physical necessities like an individual, and as he must eat before he learns to read, so the community must provide for some things even before it provides completely for the intellectual culture of its children; hence it would be expected for all these causes that the people in the Southern States would be able to pay far less for the support of common schools than other portions of the American people. Yet, as a fact, they pay in proportion to their valuation as much and in proportion to their capacity to be taxed a great deal more for the education of their children. It is not a question of effort, but of strength.

The rate per cent. of school to total taxation is, in New England, 20.2 per cent.; Middle States, 19.5 per cent.; Western States, 26.6 per cent.; Territories, 22.4 per cent.; Southern States, 20.1 per cent.; average, whole country, 22.6 per cent.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Do you mean on the total valuation?

Mr. BLAIR. No; the percentage of school taxation to the entire amount of taxation.

Mr. EDMUNDS. To a fixed ratio.

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MR. BLAIR. Taking the entire taxation of the country and dividing that taxation into groups, the New England States, the Middle States, the Western States, the Territories, and the Southern States. In New England 20.2 per cent. of all taxation is given to education, to schools.

MR. EDMUNDS. That percentage of the total for all purposes?

MR. BLAIR. Of the amount of all taxes raised and collected. For instance, where there is \$100,000 raised in any given community in New England, \$20,200 of that \$100,000 is applied to schools; in the Middle States, \$19,500 of the \$100,000 is applied to schools; in the Western States, \$26,600 is applied to schools; in the Territories, \$22,400 is applied to schools; in the Southern States, \$20,100 is applied to schools; and the average for the whole country of every \$100,000 of taxation is \$22,600. It has a very important bearing on the merits of the proposition that this table be understood.

I now proceed to consider the increase of educational expenditures required. I have not dared to make these calculations up to what I think they really should be; they are the minimum. The education of children is a business just as much as the running of a government, or a line of transportation, or the raising of crops. A plant is first required. The child, ignorant of his letters, is the raw material; and in theory at least, the young man or woman instructed in the rudiments of knowledge and skilled in the primary arts for its acquisition is the manufactured article.

Falling back upon the returns of the Bureau of Education of 1881, the latest and most reliable we have, and bearing in mind all that I have said in the early part of my remarks of the increase since that time and the enlarged proportions of the problem we are dealing with, I ask attention to the following facts:

In 1881 there were children of the school ages in the United States not enrolled, that is, not attending at all anywhere in public or private schools, 6,030,936.

I will here state that educators complain everywhere that they lack accommodations for those who are actually enrolled. There are no school-houses for their accommodation. In fact there are not sittings for more than are enrolled anywhere. A school-house for fifty pupils can not cost less than \$300. We have, then, a necessity for increase of school-houses 120,567, and of teachers at least the same number. The houses would cost \$36,170,100; if you fit the teachers with one year of instruction, at \$250, \$30,141,550; teachers' wages for three-months' school, at \$30, boarding themselves, about 50 cents per day—one-third pay of diggers of ditches and short drains—\$10, \$54,930; cost of books, which must be paid by for some one, \$180,782; total, \$77,347,662, to provide the plant and run it three months for the instruction of the children not now attending school at all in this country.

Take now the seventeen Southern States, including the District of Columbia. There were not-enrolled children of school ages returned to the bureau in the year 1881, 2,873,399; school-houses and teachers required, 57,465; cost of houses at \$300 each, \$17,239,500; cost of fitting teachers, at \$250 one year, \$14,366,250; pay for three months, wages at \$30 per month, teacher paying board, \$5,172,750; school-books, \$86,148—a total cost to provide for and instruct for three months the children not now enrolled in public or private schools \$36,864,648, of which \$31,692,898 is necessary before the schools could begin.

Now, all this done, in addition to what already exists north and south, the country would be only tolerably supplied with a school plant, the repair and reproduction of which, with constant increase of investment to perform properly the increasing educational work, must be provided for.

But it should be borne in mind that a school of three months leaves nine months in the year in which to forget what has been learned in the three. Many schools are far less in duration, and consist of but a single term during the year, some not more than three or four weeks, in fact. These averages are pernicious, inasmuch as it is like an effort to divide the crime or misery of the country according to population, and say that each person suffers 25 per cent. from cancer, or is three-fourths a lunatic, or 50 per cent. a murderer. But it is the best we can do, and in no event are we likely fully to grasp the tremendous significance of the solid facts. The schools in my opinion should be six months yearly, and be divided in two terms. That is enough; and the rest of the time of youth should be given to industrial improvement and recreation.

The actual yearly expenditures of all moneys for public schools in the whole country is at this time just about \$80,000,000. I believe that to be a liberal estimate. Of this, in the sixteen Southern States, with the District of Columbia, there may be \$14,000,000. In the year 1881 it was \$13,359,784, as returned to the Commissioner of Education. The schools average about three months yearly.

If we deduct the \$14,000,000 from \$80,000,000 we have remaining as the expenditure in the rest of the country \$66,000,000. As these Southern States have one-third the total population, in order to place that section upon an equality of privilege with the rest there should be, instead of \$14,000,000, a yearly expenditure of \$33,000,000 for her enrolled children, and none of these calculations make any provision for children not enrolled at all.

It is too low an estimate to say that in the North there should be an expenditure of \$100,000,000 at once to increase school facilities, provide and qualify teachers for their work, and at least as much more in

the South, or in the whole country, \$200,000,000. Upon the present basis of expenditure in the North there would be \$100,000,000 annually paid for the support of public schools in the whole country. If one-third the children are new unenrolled and unprovided for, there should be an increase in yearly expenditure of \$50,000,000 on their account. This would make the annual cost of our public schools only \$150,000,000, and would give to all the children of the whole country but six months' training each year, and to teachers only the pay of common laborers or less.

The proposition of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LOGAN]—setting aside the source of supply from which he proposed to get the money which would have a tendency to identify the support of the public schools with the prosperity of a business which I hope will yet disappear from the earth, which proposition was to appropriate about \$50,000,000 yearly to schools—is really moderate when the necessities of the problem are fairly stated, and I take this occasion to say that the proposition of the Senator from Illinois, divested of the objectionable feature referred to, is worthy of a great statesman and far-seeing patriot. There is nothing the matter but our own failure to fully appreciate the stern requirements of the situation.

If fifty, eighty, or one hundred millions could be substituted for the fifteen millions proposed in this bill, and the whole distributed upon the basis of population, or of illiteracy, temporarily, it would be far better. But I have no hope of the adoption of such a measure, and the committee felt under the necessity of confining the amount to the comparative pittance of fifteen millions, which must necessarily, if not very largely increased, be confined to the dense clouds of ignorance where explosions are threatened; that is to say, it must be applied locally to the evil itself. In States which receive but little, comparatively little is wanted.

Even after \$15,000,000 are divided upon the basis of illiteracy, the individual child will receive for his education in California, \$15.12; in Colorado, \$14.34; in Connecticut, \$10.71; in Nevada, \$14.40; in New Hampshire, \$10.07; in Rhode Island, \$11.36; in District of Columbia, \$13.61, and in Massachusetts, \$19.21.

While in Alabama he will receive \$3.64; in Arkansas, \$3.13; in Florida, \$3.75; in Georgia, \$4.03; in Kentucky, \$3.67; in Louisiana, \$4.96; in Mississippi, \$4.09; in Virginia, \$3.94; in West Virginia, \$4.31; in North Carolina, \$3.26; in South Carolina, \$5.05.

While the immediate need in these last States is at least for double the education called for in the first group.

This bill appropriates \$15,000,000 the first year, and will give to every State and Territory \$3 for each person over ten years of age who can not read, and \$2.41 for each person who can not write, lessening in amount, that is according to the basis of distribution, \$1,000,000 yearly for ten years, when all payments are to cease.

The State will apply the funds and render a yearly account of the manner in which the work is done. The Executive, if dissatisfied, can withhold further expenditures, subject to the action of Congress.

Each State and Territory must expend for school purposes at least one-third the amount received during the first five years and an equal amount the second five years of the operation of the bill if it should become a law.

States receiving small amounts can expend the same for normal instruction, teachers' institutes, or otherwise, as they prefer. The amount that New Hampshire receives, for instance, would increase her normal school facilities more than threefold beyond the present expenditure of the State, or give 59 cents yearly to persons of school age.

The funds must be applied to schools and not to structures, not exceeding one-tenth to the qualification of teachers, which is the first necessity. The States are required to so use the fund as to bring about an actual equalization of school advantages to all children alike. Industrial education is provided for when practicable, which will be hit seldom, although something may be done in suitable localities and in the way of beginning.

We are a great way deeper in the mire than we realize when we talk of doing much in the way of teaching trades and occupations before our children can half of them find a chance to learn to read. But it will come in time, and a beginning can now be made in the way of setting out a few young trees.

The Territories are of the utmost importance, and the bill undertakes to provide for them indispensable legislation, both in appropriations and administration.

The method of expenditure in the States is the same substantially which has already been adopted by the Senate in the passage of the bill establishing a national school fund from the proceeds of the sale of public lands, &c. As both parties have already indorsed that method of expenditure on more than one occasion, the committee, or at least a majority of its members, have thought best to avoid all chance for controversy on that subject by adopting that which, having been repeatedly sanctioned, can now be repudiated with consistency.

I also embrace this fitting opportunity to say that I fully believe that the States will everywhere disburse the moneys received under this bill, if it becomes a law, in good faith and with as sacred regard to the demands of prudence and honor in one section of the country as in the other. For a year or two there may be some possible confusion

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in setting up and testing machinery; but in the existing condition of the public mind the better way is to give outright to the States and hold them, as they desire to be held, to an undivided responsibility, to be redeemed upon their honor. We shall not trust to that honor in vain.

Mr. President, the absolute necessities of this nation of these States, of their darkened present and of the portentous future, demand the appropriation of public money from a full Treasury to aid in the establishment and support of common schools throughout the country.

Sir, I appeal to the facts, and entreat the Senate to pass this bill.

[Text of the bill (S. 368) as it passed the Senate April 7, 1884, by a vote of yeas 33, nays 11.

An act to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for eight years next after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of \$7,000,000, the second year the sum of \$10,000,000, the third year the sum of \$15,000,000, the fourth year the sum of \$18,000,000, the fifth year the sum of \$19,000,000, the sixth year the sum of \$19,000,000, the seventh year the sum of \$7,000,000, the eighth year the sum of \$5,000,000; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education to all the children of the school age mentioned hereafter living in the United States.

SEC. 2. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories, in proportion which the whole number of persons in each who, being of the age of ten years and over, can not read, bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; such computation shall be made according to the census of 1880.

SEC. 3. That no State or Territory shall receive any of the benefits of this act until the governor thereof shall file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by him, certifying the character of the common-school system in force in such State or Territory, the amount of money expended and received during the last preceding school year in the support of common schools, not including expenditures for the rent, repair, or erection of school-houses; whether any discrimination is made in the raising or distributing of the common-school revenues or in the common-school facilities afforded between the white and colored children therein, and, so far as practicable, the sources from which such revenues were derived; the number in which the sums were appropriated to the several common schools, the number of white and the number of colored children in common schools; the average attendance in each class and the length of the school term. No money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory that shall not have provided by law a system of free common schools for all of its children of school age, without distinction of race or color, either in the raising or distributing of school revenues or in the school facilities afforded: Provided, That separate schools for white and colored children shall not be considered a violation of this section. The Secretary of the Interior shall then return certified to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of the States and Territories which he finds to be entitled to share in the benefits of this act, and also the amount due to each.

SEC. 4. That the amount so apportioned to each State and Territory shall be drawn from the Treasury by warrant of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the monthly estimates and requisitions of the Secretary of the Interior, as the same may be made, and the amount so drawn shall be authorized by the laws of the respective States and Territories to receive the same.

SEC. 5. That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws.

SEC. 6. The money appropriated under the provisions of this act to any of the Territories shall be applied to the use of common and industrial schools therein by the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 7. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the time being in the development and maintenance of the school system established by local government, and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they are located, the amount and the proportion of the annual appropriation under this act shall be paid out to any State or Territory in any one year, than the sum expended out of its own revenues or out of moneys raised under its authority in the preceding year for the maintenance of common schools, not including the sums expended in the erection of school buildings.

SEC. 8. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools, or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to competent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching, and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training schools, to teach in the common schools for such compensation as may be paid other teachers therein.

SEC. 9. That no part of the educational fund allotted to any State or Territory shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same.

SEC. 10. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used only for common schools, not sectarian in character, in the school districts of the several States and Territories, in such way as to provide, as near as may be, for the same the school privileges to all children of school age as are prescribed by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child, without distinction of race or color, an equal opportunity for education. The term "school district" shall include all cities, towns, parishes, and other territorial subdivisions for school purposes, and all corporations clothed by law with the power of maintaining common schools.

SEC. 11. That no second or subsequent allotment shall be made under this act to any State or Territory which has failed to file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by him, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund appropriated to his State or Territory and received by the State or Territorial treasurer or officer under this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, and also the amount expended in such State or Territory as required by section 8 of this act, and the amount so expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools of teachers employed, the total number of children taught during the year, and in what branches instructed, the average daily attendance, and the relative number of white and colored children, and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school district. And if any State or Territory shall misappropriate or allow to be misappropriated, or in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purposes herein required, the sum, or any part thereof, remaining unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, under the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, and the other matters herein prescribed to be so reported, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent appor-

tionment by virtue hereof until the full amount so misappropriated, lost, or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory and applied as herein required, until such replacement has been made and certified. And if the public schools in any State or Territory not within the ages herein specified, it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein specified, if it shall appear to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied to the purposes contemplated by this act, and that the conditions thereof have been observed, then the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year's appropriation as hereinbefore provided. The Secretary of the Interior shall have the right to hear and determine any complaints of misappropriation or unjust discrimination in the use of the funds herein provided, and shall report to Congress the results thereof.

SEC. 12. That on or before the 1st day of September of each year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States whether any State or Territory has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act and, if so, for what cause, and whether such apportionment shall be withheld such amount of such forfeiture; and each State and Territory from which such apportionment shall be withheld shall have the right to appeal from such decision of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress.

SEC. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this act in the Territories through the Commissioner of Education, who shall report annually to Congress the practical operation, and briefly the condition of the common schools and industrial education in all parts of the country, which report shall be transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Interior, accompanying the report of his Department. And the power to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby reserved.

SEC. 14. That no State or Territory that does not distribute the moneys raised for common school purposes equally for the education of all the children, without distinction of race or color, shall be entitled to any of the benefits of this act.

Passed the Senate April 7, 1884.

Attest:

ANSON G. MCCOOK, Secretary.

[Text of the bill (S. 368) as reported to the Forty-eighth Congress.]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for ten years after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of \$15,000,000, the second year the sum of \$18,000,000, the third year the sum of \$19,000,000, and thereafter a sum diminished \$1,000,000 yearly from the sum of \$19,000,000, and thereafter until the sum last appropriated until ten annual appropriations shall have been made, when all appropriations under this act shall cease; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education to all the children of the school age mentioned herein living in the United States.

SEC. 2. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories in proportion which the whole number of persons in each who, being of the age of ten years and over, can not read and write bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; and until otherwise provided such computation shall be made according to the official returns of the census of 1880.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Interior, at the close of each fiscal year shall ascertain the total amount of the school funds which the States and Territories and the District of Columbia have allotted under the provisions of this act, and shall certify the same to the Secretary of the Treasury. That upon the receipt of such certificate the Secretary of the Treasury shall, on or before the 31st day of July of each year, apportion the said total sum so certified among the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia upon the basis of population and illiteracy specified in the second section of this act.

SEC. 4. That a part of the sum so so apportioned to any State and Territory and to the District of Columbia shall be paid out by the warrant of the Commissioner of Education, countersigned by the Secretary of the Interior, out of the Treasury of the United States, to the treasurer of the State, Territory, or District, or to such officer as shall be designated by the laws of such State, Territory, or District to receive, account for, and pay over the same to the several school districts entitled thereto under said apportionment. The term "school district" as used in this section shall mean any county, city, town, or subdivision of a state or territory so far as it may be clothed with the power of maintaining common schools; provided, that such distribution or payment, after the receipt of said fund by the State, Territory, or District, may be made to any officer designated by the laws of the State, Territory, or District, for the disbursement of the school funds to the teachers employed in such schools.

SEC. 5. That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws, and shall include, whenever practicable, instruction in the arts of industry, and the instruction of females such branches of technical or industrial education as are suited to their sex, which instruction shall be free to all, without distinction of race, color, nativity, or condition in life: Provided, That nothing herein shall deprive children of their right to receive an industrial education but attending such schools, or from receiving the benefits of this act the same as though the attendance thereon were without distinction of race.

SEC. 6. The money appropriated and apportioned under the provisions of this act to the use of any Territory shall be applied to the use of common and industrial schools therein by the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 7. That the District of Columbia shall be entitled to the privileges of a Territory, but the laws of this act, but as existing laws and school authorities shall not be affected by the operation of this act. The Commissioner of Education shall be charged with the duty of superintending the distribution of its allotment, and shall make full report of his doings to the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 8. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the time being in the development and maintenance of the school system established by local government, and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they exist, it is hereby provided that no part of the money appropriated under this act shall be paid out in any State or Territory which shall not, during the first five years of the operation of this act, annually expend for the maintenance of common schools at least one-third of the sum which shall be allotted to it under the provisions hereof, and during the next five years of its operation a sum equivalent to one-half of the sum it shall be entitled to receive under this act.

SEC. 9. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may yearly be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools, or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to competent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching, and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training schools, to teach in the common schools, for such compensation as may be paid other teachers therein.

SEC. 10. That no part of the educational fund allotted to any State or Territory

or the District of Columbia shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school-buildings of any description, nor for the payment of any expenses of such erection.

SEC. 12. That any State in which the number of persons ten years of age and upward who can not read and write is not over 5 per cent. of the whole population thereof shall have the right to receive its allotment and to apply the same to provide, as near as may be, for the equalization of school privileges to all the children of the school age prescribed by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child an opportunity for common-school and, so far as may be, of industrial education; and to this end existing public schools, not sectarian in character, may be used, and new ones may be erected.

SEC. 13. That any State in which the number of persons ten years of age and upward who can not read and write is not over 5 per cent. of the whole population thereof shall have the right to receive its allotment and to apply the same for the promotion of common-school and industrial education, or the education of teachers therein, in such a way as the Legislature of such State shall provide.

SEC. 14. That the Secretary of the Interior, or his agent, shall, on or before the 30th day of June of each year, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory and received by the State or Territory treasurer or officer under section 4 of this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer withheld, unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, and also the amount expended in each State or Territory in the maintenance of common schools, and the number of public, common, and industrial schools, the number of teachers employed, the total number of children taught during the year and in what branches instructed, the average daily attendance, and the relative number of white and colored children, and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school district, and such other information in relation to the use of the school fund and the condition of common school education as the Secretary of the Interior may require. And if any State or Territory shall fail to supply or to supply in a manner appropriate or used other than for the purposes herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, received under the provisions of this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof until it shall amend so misapplied, lost, or misappropriated, shall be required to sue the State or Territory in which it is situated, and until such report shall have been made: *Provided*, That if the public schools in any State admit pupils not within the ages herein specified it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein.

SEC. 15. That on or before the 1st day of September of each year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States, together with the State or Territory in which each of which shall be entitled to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture; and each State and Territory and the District of Columbia from which such apportionments shall be withheld shall have the right to appeal from such decision of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress; and if the next Congress shall not direct such share to be paid, it shall be added to the general educational fund for distribution among the other States and Territories and District of Columbia which shall be entitled to the benefit of the provisions of this act.

SEC. 16. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this act in the Territories and the District of Columbia, through the Commissioner of Education, who shall report annually to Congress its practical operation, and briefly the condition of common and industrial education as affected thereby throughout the country, which report shall be transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Interior, accompanying the report of his Department.

[Text of bill (S. 151) introduced in the Forty-seventh Congress.]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
December 6, 1881.

Mr. BLAIR asked and, by unanimous consent, obtained leave to bring in the following bill; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

December 20, 1881, ordered to be printed.

A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

As it was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for ten years next after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of \$15,000,000, the second year the sum of \$14,000,000, the third year the sum of \$13,000,000, and thereafter a sum diminished \$1,000,000 yearly from the sum last appropriated until ten annual appropriations shall have been made; when an appropriation for this act shall cease; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education to all the children living in the United States.

SEC. 2. That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws, and may include, whenever practical, instruction in agriculture, industry, and navigation, for the promotion and distribution of race, native, and foreign condition in life: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall deprive children of different races, living in the same community but attending separate schools, from receiving the benefits of this act the same as though the attendance therein were without distinction of race.

SEC. 3. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories in that proportion which the whole number of persons ten years of age and upward, below the age of ten years and over, can not read and write bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; and until otherwise provided such computation shall be made according to the official returns of the census of 1880.

SEC. 4. That such moneys shall be expended in each State by the concurrence of, each having a negative upon the other, of the Secretary of the Interior, on one side, and of the State or Territory agent of the Commissioner of Schools, or of the Commissioner of Education, or other body in which the administration of the public-school laws shall be vested, on the part of the several States wherein the expenditures are respectively to be made; and whenever the authorities of the United States and of the State fail to agree as to the distribution, use, and ap-

plication of the money hereby provided for, or any part thereof, payment thereof, or such part thereof, shall be suspended; and of such disagreement continuing throughout the fiscal year for which the same was appropriated, it shall be covered into the Treasury and shall be added to the general appropriation for the next year, provided for in the first section of this act.

All sums of money appropriated under the provisions of this act to the use of any Territory shall be applied to the use of schools therein by the Secretary of the Interior, through the commissioner of common schools, whose appointment is hereby provided.

SEC. 5. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used in the school districts of the several States and Territories in such way as to provide for the equalization of school privileges to all the children throughout the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child an opportunity for common-school education; and to this end existing public schools, not sectarian in character, may be used, and new ones may be erected, provided, that the best in the several localities.

SEC. 6. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may yearly be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to intelligent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means, and who shall agree, in writing, to qualify themselves and teach in the common schools of such State or Territory at least one year.

SEC. 7. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the time being in the development and maintenance of the school systems established by local power, and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they exist, hereinafter provided, that the money apportioned under this act shall be set apart in my State or Territory which shall not during the first five years of the operation of this act annually expend for the maintenance of common schools, free to all, at least one-third of the sum which shall be allotted to it under the provisions hereof, and during the second five years of its operation a sum at least equal to the whole it shall be entitled to receive under this act; and such expenditure shall not be shown to the Secretary of the Interior at the end of each year by the State or Territory, respectively, or by such other person as shall be satisfied to him with their statement of fact for each subsequent year so long as there shall be a deficiency of such expenditure by the State or Territory from the proceeds of local funds, whether derived from taxation or otherwise, shall be expended for the support of common schools therein wholly in the discretion of the Secretary, who shall apply the same to the support of existing or to the establishment of new schools in such manner as he may see fit.

SEC. 8. That not less than one-half of the money herein provided for shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school-buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same: *Provided*, however, That whenever it shall appear to the Secretary that otherwise any given locality will remain wholly without reasonable common-school advantages, he may, in his discretion, from the general fund allotted to the State or Territory, provide schools and for their temporary accommodations, by rent or otherwise, as far as may be possible: *And provided further*, That in no case shall more than 5 per cent. of such allotment be set apart for or he expended under the provisions of this section.

SEC. 9. That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a commissioner of common schools in each State and Territory, who shall be a citizen thereof and shall reside therein, and shall perform all such duties as may be assigned to him by the Secretary of the Interior, and shall be subject to his direction, and in co-operation with the State authorities in the Territories he shall also be charged with the general supervision and control of public education, and shall possess all the powers now vested in Territorial superintendents and boards of education, or by whatever Territorial officers the same may have been hitherto exercised. He shall be paid a salary of not less than three nor more than five thousand dollars, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. He shall be subject to the direction of the Commissioner of Schools in his jurisdiction to the Secretary of the Interior, and particular reports when called upon by the Secretary, and especially of all details in the administration of this act. In addition to his other duties he shall devote himself to the promotion of the general interests of public education in the State or Territory for which he is appointed.

SEC. 10. That any State, in which the number of persons ten years of age and upward who can not read and write is not over 5 per cent. of the whole population, eighteen years of age and upward, that the amount allowed to it under the provisions of this act shall be appropriated in any other way for the promotion of common-school education, in its own borders or elsewhere, its allotment shall be paid to such State to be thus appropriated: *Provided*, That its Legislature shall have first considered the question of its appropriation to the general fund for use under the provisions of this act in States and Territories where the proportion of illiterate persons is not over 5 per cent. of the whole population.

SEC. 11. That any State whose illiterate is greater than 5 per cent. of its whole population failing to accept the provisions of this act and to comply with its provisions, so as to be entitled to its allotment from year to year, the sum allotted to such State, subject to the discretionary action of the Secretary of the Interior under the sixth and seventh sections of this act, shall become a part of the fund to be distributed among the States which shall be entitled to their respective shares in the Territories or any States or Territories not accepting the provisions of this act, nor requiring the right to dispose of its allotment as provided in the preceding section, the same shall become a part of the general fund for like distribution.

SEC. 12. That the District of Columbia shall be entitled to the privileges of a Territory under the provisions of this act, but there shall be no commissioner of common schools appointed for the District, nor shall existing laws and school laws be suspended; and the Commissioner of Education shall be charged with the duty of superintending the distribution of its allotment, and shall make full report of his doings to the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this law through the Bureau of Education, and all moneys paid under its provisions shall be made by Treasury warrant to the individual performing the service to whom it shall be due, and shall be personally entitled to receive the money, or to his agent, duly authorized by him, upon vouchers approved by the State authorities, when under the provisions of this act their approval is necessary, and by the commissioner of common schools for the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, and by the Secretary of the Interior.

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

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[Text of the bill (S. 194) as it passed the Senate March 5, 1866, by a vote of yeas 36, nays 11.]

S. 194.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MARCH 5, 1866.

A BILL

To aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for eight fiscal years next after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of \$7,000,000, the second year the sum of \$10,000,000, the third year the sum of \$15,000,000, the fourth year the sum of \$20,000,000, the fifth year the sum of \$11,000,000, the sixth year the sum of \$30,000,000, the seventh year the sum of \$7,000,000, the eighth year the sum of \$5,000,000; which several sums shall be expended to establish the facilities of common-school education to all the children of the school age mentioned hereafter living in the United States: *Provided*, That no money shall be paid to a State, or any officer thereof, until the Legislature of the State shall, by bill or resolution, accept the provisions of this act; and such acceptance shall be filed with the Secretary of the Interior. And if any State, by its Legislature, shall decline or relinquish its share of payment or any portion thereof, the sum so relinquished shall go to increase the amount for distribution among the other States and the Territories as herein provided. And any State or Territory which shall accept the provisions of this act, at the first session of its Legislature after its passage, shall, upon complying with the other provisions of this act, be entitled at once to its pro rata share of all previous annual appropriations.

Sec. 2. That such moneys shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories and in the District of Columbia in that proportion which the whole number of persons in each who, being of the age of ten years and over, can not write bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; such computation shall be made according to the census of 1880 until the illiteracy returns of the census of 1890 shall be received, and then upon the basis of these returns. And in each State and Territory, and in the District of Columbia, in which the school has been established, the number of white and colored children, the money received in such State or Territory, and in the District of Columbia, shall be apportioned and paid out for the support of such white and colored schools, respectively, in the proportion that the white and colored children between the ages of ten years and twenty-one years, both inclusive, in such State or Territory, and in the District of Columbia bear to each other, as shown by the said census; the foregoing proportion shall not affect the application of the proper proportion of white to each school of all common schools wherein white and colored children are taught together.

Sec. 3. That the district of Alaska shall be considered a Territory within the meaning of this act; but no acceptance of the provisions of this act, report of the governor of the district, or expenditure by the district for school purposes shall be required, and the money apportioned to said district shall be expended annually, and the amount appropriated by the Secretary of the Interior, in the manner provided for the expenditure of other moneys for educational purposes in said district; and for the purpose of ascertaining the amount to be apportioned to said district the Secretary of the Interior shall ascertain, in such manner as shall be deemed by him best, the number of illiterates therein.

Sec. 4. That no State or Territory shall receive any money under this act until the governor thereof shall file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by the State or Territory, of the common-school system in force in such State or Territory; the amount of moneys expended during the last preceding school year in the support of common schools, not including moneys expended for the rent, repair, or erection of school-houses; whether any discrimination is made in the raising or distributing of the common-school revenues or in the common-school facilities afforded between the white and colored children there; and, so far as practicable, the sources from which such revenues were derived; the manner in which the same were apportioned to the use of the common schools; the number of white and colored children in each county or parish and city between the ages of ten and twenty-one years, both inclusive, as given by the census of 1880, and the number of children, white and colored, of such school age attending school; the number of schools in operation in each county or parish and city, white and colored; the school term for each class; the number of teachers employed, white and colored, male and female, and the average compensation paid to teachers; the average attendance in each class; and the length of the school term. No moneys shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory that shall not have provided by law a system of free common schools for all of its children of school age, without distinction of color, either in the raising or distributing of school revenues or in the school facilities afforded: *Provided*, That separate schools for white and colored children shall be considered a violation of this condition. The Secretary of the Interior shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the States and Territories which he finds to be entitled to share in the benefits of this act, and also the amount due to each.

Sec. 5. That the amount so apportioned to each State and Territory shall be drawn from the Treasury by warrant of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the monthly estimates and requisitions of the Secretary of the Interior as the same are needed, and shall be paid over to such officers as shall be authorized by the laws of the respective States and Territories to receive the same. And that the Secretary of the Interior is charged with the proper administration of this law, through the Commissioner of Education, and is authorized and directed, under the approval of the President, to make all needful rules and regulations, not inconsistent with its provisions, to carry this law into effect.

Sec. 6. That the construction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws; and copies of all school-books authorized by the school boards or other authorities of the respective States and Territories, and used in the schools of the same, shall be furnished by the Secretary of the Interior.

Sec. 7. That the money appropriated and apportioned under the provisions of this act to the use of common schools shall be applied to the use of common industrial schools therein, under the direction of the Legislature thereof.

Sec. 8. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the time being in the development and maintenance of the school system established by local government and which will eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they exist, it is hereby provided that no greater part of the money appropriated under this act shall be paid out to any State or Territory in any one year than

the sum expended out of its own revenues or out of money raised under its authority in the preceding year for the maintenance of common schools, not exceeding the sums expended in the erection of school-buildings.

Sec. 9. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding the sum thereto, may, in the discretion of its Legislature, yearly be applied to the education of children in the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutions containing training schools, in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to competent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching; and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training schools, to teach in the common schools for compensation as may be paid other teachers therein.

Sec. 10. That no part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory under the first section of this act shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same.

Sec. 11. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used only for common schools, not sectarian in character, in the school districts of the several States, and only for common or industrial schools in Territories, to be provided, as near as may be, for the equalization of school privileges to all the children of the school age provided by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditures shall be made, the money to be paid to each child, without distinction of race or color, an equal opportunity for education. The term "school district" shall include all cities, towns, parishes, and other territorial subdivisions for school purposes, and all corporations clothed by law with the power of maintaining common schools.

Sec. 12. That no second or subsequent allotment shall be made under this act to any State or Territory until the governor of such State or Territory shall first file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by the governor, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made by the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory and received by the State or Territorial treasurer or officer under this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer, unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, and also a statement of the school districts in such State or Territory as required by section 9 of this act, and also a statement of the school districts in such State or Territory, and whether any portion of such State or Territory has been subdivided into school districts or other territorial subdivisions for school purposes, and if so, what portion, and the reasons why the same has not been so subdivided; the number of children of school age in each district, and the relative number of white and colored children in each district, and of the number of pupils in each school in each district; the number of teachers employed; the date of when each school began to receive a number of children in the State or Territory, and the total number taught during the same period; the number instructed; the average daily attendance and the relative number of white and colored children; and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school district. And if any State or Territory shall misappropriate or allow to be misappropriated, or in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purpose and in the manner herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, received under this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein provided, or to discharge its proper officers, the disposition thereof, and the other matters herein prescribed to be so reported, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof until the full amount so misappropriated, lost, or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory and applied to the sum required, and until such report shall have been made: *Provided*, That if the public schools in any State admit pupils not within the ages herein specified, it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein. If it shall appear to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied to the purposes contemplated by this act, and that the conditions thereto have been observed, then and not otherwise the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year's appropriation as is hereinbefore provided. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to promptly investigate all complaints lodged with him of any misappropriation, lost, or misappropriated funds required, and until such report shall have been made: *Provided*, That if the public schools in any State admit pupils not within the ages herein specified, it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein. If it shall appear to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied to the purposes contemplated by this act, and that the conditions thereto have been observed, then and not otherwise the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year's appropriation as is hereinbefore provided. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to promptly investigate all complaints lodged with him of any misappropriation, lost, or misappropriated funds required, and until such report shall have been made: *Provided*, That if the public schools in any State admit pupils not within the ages herein specified, it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein.

Sec. 13. That on or before the 1st day of September of each year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States whether any State or Territory has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture. SEC. 14. That no State or Territory that does not distribute the moneys raised for common-school purposes equally for the education of all the children, without distinction of race or color, shall be entitled to any of the benefits of this act. SEC. 15. That the apportionment of the money shall be appropriated in pursuance of this act for the purposes of education in the Territories shall be upon the basis of the illiteracy therein, as provided in section 2 of this act; but in determining the number of illiterates therein the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to receive and consider in addition to the census returns of 1880, any evidence that may be submitted to him of the number of illiterates in any such Territories, and shall determine therefrom, before the first distribution is made, the amount to which such Territory is entitled. SEC. 16. That there shall be appropriated and set apart, in addition to the sum of seven millions of the first appropriation, the sum of \$2,000,000, which shall be apportioned in the first section of this act on the same basis as the moneys appropriated in the first section of this act, to be used for the erection and construction of school-houses for the use and occupation of the pupils attending the common schools in the sparsely populated districts thereof, where the local community shall be comparatively unable to bear the burdens of taxes for such school-houses shall be built in accordance with plans to be furnished from a publication entitled "Building a School House in Washington": *Provided*, however, That not more than \$150 shall be paid for each room and toward the cost of any single school-house, nor more than one-half the cost thereof, in any case; and the States and Territories shall annually make full report of all expenditures from the school-house fund to the Secretary of the Interior, as in case of other moneys received under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 17. The District of Columbia shall be entitled to all the benefits and subject to all the regulations of this act, so far as applicable under its form of government.

Sec. 18. The power to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby reserved.

EDUCATION AND LABOR.

Competition Between the North and South--National Aid to Education Alone is Protection to Labor and Capital, Especially in the North.

S P E E C H

O F

HON. HENRY W. BLAIR,

O F N E W H A M P S H I R E,

I N T H E S E N A T E O F T H E U N I T E D S T A T E S ,

Wednesday, March 2, 1887.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11029) making appropriations for the naval service of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for other purposes—

Mr. BLAIR said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: For about six thousand years the human race has been engaged in the science and the art of war, which is simply the prosecution of those methods by which human beings can best destroy each other. The chief burdens that mankind have borne and that now overload civilization are the results of this tendency to war; and it has seemed to me, I confess, that if the millennium which we are accustomed to believe in is not an absolute myth, a nation like our own with sixty millions of the most highly civilized people that the world has ever seen, still evolving and developing, it may be for the first time in the records of history, might set to the world the example of an effort to settle the controversies which arise between nations without resorting to the destructive arts of butchery.

For one, though I vote all that is asked, it is with great reluctance that I support these bills which call for such enormous expenditures purely in contemplation of conflicts which are to come. Though it may be a sentiment hardly proper to enunciate and which it is certainly not popular to enunciate, yet I still think the American people need do very little in the way of preparing for actual war.

I believe that this nation is great enough and strong enough in its intellectual and moral worth and character to defy the possibility of any conflict by appealing to the sense of justice of the world, and that refusing to engage in warfare from this day forth we might initiate an era which, if not absolute peace at once, would result within a short period in the elimination of wars from among civilized nations; and the great wars of the world have only been those among civilized nations, for only those are capable of a comprehensive concentration of effort which makes a great war.

While I suppose that we are sure to have some expenditure in this direction, I would be very sure to limit the appropriations and expenditure to what may be strictly called national defense. I would not willingly vote to appropriate a single dollar which I thought would induce this nation under any circumstances, even of great provocation, to engage in anything like aggressive war.

But the expenditure for war of a defensive character, the construction of vessels, the making of great guns, the development of new agencies of destruction by modern inventions, such as dynamite, nitro-glycerine, and many others, will require, of course, large amounts, and I am willing to vote something, only being assured, as far as possible, that the expenditures will be simply in the way of defense.

I think, too, that if this be done, it is very proper that measures be taken to secure the expenditure in such a way in different parts of the country as to give to all of our people the advantage of the expenditure of the public funds in their own vicinity. I do not know precisely what the amendment moved may be, but there can be no doubt that the claim of our friends from the Southern country that labor is cheaper there, that raw materials which may be used in the construction of these vessels, or these great guns, are cheaper there—there can be no doubt I say that this claim is true, and if these conditions were to continue, I have no doubt that to the remote future the industries and the labor of the North would find themselves suffering from a form of competition greater than that which

we are likely to suffer from, even from the repeal of our protective tariff, and by the introduction of Chinese labor to our shores without limit or stint to any degree whatever.

It is because the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] touched upon this point that I am ready at this time to make a few remarks which I had prepared for another occasion, bearing upon this question, which needs to be more considered. I think in our country than it has been as yet—the advantages which one section has in this matter of labor; and this is the great item after all of expenditure, for of all the amounts of money that are paid out from one year's end to the other in the form of wages, in the form of payment for materials, at least 90 or 95 per cent of the whole represents wages for labor; and in this direction I wish to submit a few remarks at this time.

The war between the nation and the Southern States—

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator allow me a question? I know that we are all very desirous of listening to the remarks which the Senator, as he says, has prepared for another occasion; but will not the Senator give way for five or ten minutes and let us pass this bill in order that it may get through and go to the President? Of course, I understand the Senator can go on and I do not attempt to take him from the floor except by his entire good-will and assent.

Mr. BLAIR. Under the circumstances I think the Senator will not press his request.

Mr. HALE. I am at the mercy of the Senator.

Mr. BLAIR. I think the Senator is, and at the same time I will remind him that he has not often been at my mercy in the effort to assert any title of occupancy to this floor. I promise the Senator that I will offer remarks which it will be worth while for him to consider, and that it will be worth while for him and for the President, to whom he appeals for his cordial signature to this bill, to consider these same remarks. They are pertinent now; they will be pertinent on many other occasions; and it will do the Senator no harm to have these ideas in his mind as he goes on during the remainder of his Senatorial term.

Mr. HALE. I wish the Senator would wait and let me hear them after the Senate has adjourned at 12 o'clock on the 4th day of March.

Mr. BLAIR. I have indicated my desire and propose to be no further interrupted.

The war between the nation and the Southern States was a conflict between systems of industrial production. One system secured to the wage-laborer high returns for his toil and to the individual producer high prices for his commodity. The other system paid the common laborer the scant necessities of life, just enough to create and preserve him as a profitable animal or an efficient machine, while the entire product as well as the plant of fixed, circulating, and living capital was owned by the employer.

These two systems collided in Kansas, and the war which followed abolished the forms of slavery, retaining much of its power, because the ignorance which made slavery possible with the prejudice against work which grew out of its degradation was neither removed nor seriously diminished.

More than twenty years have now elapsed since peace was restored, during which long period considerable progress has been made in the South in the diversification of industries and of production and in the increase of general intelligence. A corresponding increase of compensation has resulted to all laboring men, whether wage-workers or producers with small capital of their own, and some advancement has been made.

The wonderful natural resources of the South are now being constantly bought up by the capital of the North and of other countries. Already the Southern market for many forms of goods once furnished from the North or from Europe as well as for agricultural productions and raw materials is being supplied, as it should be, at home. More than this, the South is already invading the Northern and Northwestern markets, and is competing for trade with production of which the highly paid labor and capital of the North is the chief element.

Foreseeing the inevitable, Northern capital and investments are seeking the South where, with labor of all kinds, agricultural, mechanical, and operative, skilled and unskilled, upon an average not more than one-half or two-thirds as high when paid in actual money or in commodities at cash prices as in the North, the profits of their new location will replace the depreciation and losses which are impending to their investments at home.

It is safe to predict that within ten years, unless new and important factors are combined with existing conditions, the production of the South after fully supplying their own will compete in Northern markets with most of the commodities which now are the chief production of the old free States at prices so low as to make it a matter of indifference to Northern labor whether the protective tariff against the products of "foreign pauper labor" be removed or continued, or even whether Chinese or foreign contract labor be longer excluded from our shores.

The farm laborers and operatives of both races in the South are rapidly acquiring the skill required to equal that of corresponding classes at the North, while the fact that women and children are more generally employed, and that all work more hours than at the North, enables a given population if of equal intelligence and skill to produce more for a time at least than the same number could under the more liberal treatment of manual workers in the old free-labor States.

The South contains very nearly, perhaps fully, one-half the natural resources of the whole country, and is certainly capable of greater rapidity of development during the next quarter of a century than the North and further West. Already she has more than one-third the entire population of the Union. Her rate of natural increase is equal to that of the North with our advantage by reason of emigration, while this advantage even is passing away as the capabilities of the South are becoming better known.

The two principal facts to be noted are these: That the average cash compensation for labor at the South is not more than one-half or two-thirds the amount paid to the same at the North, and that capital, cognizant of this fact, and of the superior resources, facilities, and capabilities of the South, is already rushing there from all directions as the most promising field for permanent investment in active production.

On the 10th day of the month of November, 1886, I was in North Carolina and ascertained the wages paid to the men who had charge of the yard work at an important railroad station, the shifting of cars, making up of trains, &c., and to section-men and common laborers. The foreman received the highest pay of any one in the yard, which was \$1 a day cash or a check on the bank, including Sabbath, or \$30 per month, boarding himself, while the section-men received 50 cents and board, making about 75 cents per diem. Good farm-hands work for \$6 per month.

I have here a slip, which I have verified to a large extent, from a gentleman who writes to the editor of the Press, of Philadelphia:

COLORED LABOR AT THE SOUTH—THE WAGES PAID TO THE HANDS ON A VIRGINIA PLANTATION.

To the Editor of the Press:

Sir: I read every few days in the Record and Times of Philadelphia that the negro laborer receives as much in wages at the South as North. Now I wish to say they do not. The colored work on the farms and plantations receive as much, I beg to state it is not so. I own two plantations in Virginia, as at as good as any, and I have men who farm them on shares. They pay, and I never knew any other parties to pay, but 40 cents a day and rations. The rations consist of fifteen pounds of bacon and a bushel and a half of cornmeal a month, and even at 40 cents a day they do not have steady work. Now, if the laborers here do not get more than that I would like to know it. I can hire hundreds South on farms in Virginia at 40 cents a day and the rations specified above, and I know what I am talking about, as they draw on me for money to help run their places. Dr. Bradley, who is connected with your office, can inform you who I am.

C. P. FARMER.

BURLINGTON, N. J., December 12, 1886.

You can go out from here anywhere 5, 10, 15, or 20 miles into either Virginia or Maryland, and you will find that the prices for common labor are not in excess of what I have mentioned, and if any one chooses to be at the trouble of consulting the evidence taken by the Committee on Education and Labor two or three years ago in the South he will find that these statements as to the compensation for ordinary labor, which is the great mass of labor, are not overstated in the direction of a minimum. It is true that here and there skilled labor, where it is itself in the nature of instruction, giving instruction to the surrounding labor, commands as high prices as in the North. That is very true. But the great mass of labor—nine-tenths of the labor which enters into the production of the South—is this cheap form of labor with which Northern labor has to compete.

But I will not load the pages of the RECORD with the details which establish the well-known proposition that, although here and there skilled labor may be paid nearly the same as in the North, yet as a rule the cost of labor as an element in Southern production is little, if any, more than one-half the cost of like labor at the North, and that this great fact foreshadows competition ruinous to Northern industries and with no corresponding benefit to the cheap labor in the Southern States. As an illustration of the rapidity with which capital is investing in the Southern States I cite an authoritative statement, recently given to the public, that during the first nine months of the year 1886 eighty-one millions of dollars were invested from other States and countries in Southern enterprises, chiefly manufacturing cloths and metals, with every reason to anticipate at least one hundred millions thus invested as the total for the year 1886. When we consider that this sum is more than one twenty-eighth part of the total of manufacturing capital in the United States, according to the last census, the fact becomes of startling significance to capital fixed in Northern plants, and still more so to Northern laborers, operatives, and mechanics.

Another fact should be comprehended also by the Northern people, and that is the wonderful uprising of the spirit of thrift, energy, and industry observable all over the South.

The traditional conception of the Southern people is no longer true. A new generation controls that land of surpassing resources and natural advantages. The war destroyed the old form of patrician and semi-military supremacy which madly appealed to arms to prolong its power. But informed as well as chastened by defeat the survivors of the struggle and the generation now upon the stage are full of life and hope and enterprise, and are eagerly at work to rebuild their fortunes and restore the power and prestige of their section of our common country by imitating and, if possible, surpassing all the conditions which enabled the North to triumph in the

mighty conflict. No one can witness this display of fortitude in adversity and of aggressive courage, when there was room for despair, without admiration. But all the more do these facts demand the attention of the North.

Their contemplation can occasion regret only in the breast of a common enemy of both sections of the country. But they point with uttering certainty to a coming competition between the producers of both sections for the home market in all the common articles of consumption in comparison with which that between American labor and the cheap production of the Old World is mere fun. The protective tariff, or absolute prohibition, is the omnipresent and complete defense of American labor and capital whenever threatened with destruction by the commodities of lower civilizations planted on foreign soils. But here we find a cheaper production by a laborer with fewer wants than our own upon which no tariff can be levied and against which no prohibition can be raised. On the contrary, every power of the Government, both State and national, is or may be invoked for its development and defense.

In this emergency what shall be done by Northern labor and by Northern capital? The question has already been answered and is being answered by the owners of a great mass of the surplus which those hitherto engaged in the diversified industries of the North, as we have already seen, are plunting in the South, where future profits may replace the inevitable losses upon like investments in the North resulting from the coming competition.

But how about that capital fixed in plants already in operation in the North, and which can not be transferred to the more favorable conditions of the South, and whose owners have no capital to invest elsewhere? More serious still is this problem to Northern labor, which must, as a whole, live or die where it is. Capital can endure delay, may be transferred elsewhere, or suffer absolute destruction even before its owner is reduced to the level of necessity all the while occupied by the toiler for his daily bread. The laborer must have his work every day, for he is hungry three times every day. So are his wife and their little ones.

Mr. Blaine has recently called public attention to this relation between Northern and Southern labor with his usual ability and power, but no solution of the difficulty or relief from coming calamities to the Northern laborer has been suggested. None can or ought to be suggested which will interfere with the uplifting of laborers at the South or with the rapid progress of that great section of the country in wealth and power. In April, 1886, I had occasion to discuss this subject, and believe the suggestions then made worthy of public attention, and accordingly will reproduce the substance of what was then said.

The late war was a conflict between cheap labor, which cost the master little more than its board and clothes under the institution of slavery, and the intelligent, free, highly civilized, and, consequently, highly paid labor of the North.

The war freed the slaves so far as the Constitution and statutes were concerned, but left him merely a freed man—not a free man—ignorant, unskilled, and, therefore, condemned to low wages and poverty; and so ever since the irrepressible conflict has continued between intelligence and ignorance, free labor and labor still enslaved by ignorance—cheap labor at the South and labor better paid at the North. Hitherto that competition has not been active.

But now new conditions are arising, and throughout the South Northern and European capital are developing that region of wonderful and universal resources, comprising one-third of the territory of the nation, producing all things which come from the soil, the forest, and the mine, close by abounding water-powers, with cheap transportation already provided, and all these combined with the remaining factor of very cheap labor and long hours.

This state of things is becoming more and more formidable, and Southern products and manufactures, free from all restrictions of the tariff and the like, which protect us from ruinous foreign competition—that is, enjoying the benefits of free trade forever between the States—are already disputing with us our own markets and controlling them in many articles of cotton, wool, and iron, those of the Middle and Western States especially, while the Southern market, to us so valuable, is rapidly disappearing by supplying itself.

What does all this save cheap, because ignorant, labor? Labor with long hours imposed upon children as well as adults; because labor is too ignorant and therefore too weak to defend itself.

Northern manufacturers as well as laborers will go to the wall in the end as surely as though the tariff were wholly removed and European production and Asiatic immigration were perfectly free.

Nothing but dense stupidity can fail to see that the manufacturing capital and cities of New England and the North generally are doomed if they are to compete with the cheap labor of the South, which is already becoming skillful with the hand, although, unfortunately, not fully intelligent in the discharge of the duties and in the exercise of the powers of citizenship. This condition comes only with education in the art of reading and writing and in the other common branches of knowledge, thus giving capacity to receive the benefits of that great instructor and preserver of the life of republics—the press.

It has become a question not of extending our markets, but of preserving those we now have; not of preserving our own in one line of production, but already in many lines, and ultimately in

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

nearly all. Every Northern industry is threatened by this cheap labor of the South—the boot and the shoe maker, and the iron-worker no less than the manufacturer and the operative in cotton and wool. It is a question of preserving our vested capital and prosperity and of protecting the masses of our people in reasonable hours of continuous employment with fair pay, which enable them to supply the wants of an advanced civilization.

To one who reflects upon the fact that political unity in a genuine republic depends upon the universal diffusion of intelligence among the people, the converse is also apparent that so far as unity of political jurisdiction extends, if it is to be permanent, there must be established throughout that jurisdiction a high and homogeneous standard of intelligent thought and of moral action. Resulting from these conditions will be a uniformity of individual power, which will enable the producer in every path of industry to secure fair pay for the supply of his wants.

With wise reference to the establishment of this general condition of intelligence, and consequently of industrial independence and equality throughout the country, the national education bill has been earnestly advocated by those who have long foreseen what is now so patent that politicians and statesmen and patriots are sounding the alarm and pressing home upon our people the importance of universal intelligence and industrial training as the only remedy.

What does this national education bill propose to do? Not to lessen the development of the South by any means; but, on the contrary, to increase it. It proposes to make Southern labor and the Southern masses more intelligent, and therefore more highly civilized; to create among their rapidly-multiplying millions of both races a vast increase of the wants of life which must be supplied, so

that Southern labor will consume, and therefore enjoy, as well as produce and thus be obliged to receive in order that it may purchase, as high wages as Northern labor, putting an end to the competition between the products of the North and South, and improving both sections by uplifting the masses of the people all over the country.

Consumption can only increase by increasing the capacity to enjoy, that is, by adding to the wants of life by higher civilization and providing higher wages or returns for labor wherewith to purchase the more diversified and costly supply of the necessities and comforts of a higher life. Increased intelligence constitutes that better civilization and gives the power which enables its possessor to command his rightful share in the production of his labor combined with the capital of the employer. This subject of the general diffusion of intelligence throughout the country is then seen to be as important to the North as to the South. It is the only remedy for our threatened Northern industries except a dissolution of the Government and the establishment of new political relations which will enable the North to apply the principle of protection against Southern cheap production the same as against that of any other foreign power—or a gradual sinking of the pay of Northern producers to the lower level of average Southern compensation for toil.

The schools—common and industrial—with wise and conservative organization of labor are the agencies upon which we must rely. I have abiding faith that these great agencies already in action will carry on their beneficent work until the perfect day. But every philanthropist and patriot should contribute his utmost to stimulate every energy of the individual, the State, and the nation, to lift all portions of our common country to the level of the highest, that nowhere shall any recede or fall.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, June 20, 1887.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR,
U. S. Senate:

SIR: In reply to your verbal inquiry I have to say that the statistics of the Tenth Census relative to schools, libraries, and churches have never been published, and * * * that it is probable they will never be issued.

Very respectfully,

D. L. HAWKINS,
Assistant Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS.

[*Women's Christian Temperance Union.*]

Resolved, That we earnestly request the House of Representatives to pass the Blair education bill without delay, in the interest of sobriety and intelligent citizenship.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

MINNEAPOLIS, 1886.

[*Knights of Labor.*]

Resolved, That we believe the cause of education would be promoted by the passage of the Blair educational bill.

Resolved, That the national legislative committee be instructed to use all their efforts to further the passage of said bill.

T. V. POWDERLY, *Chairman.*
JOHN W. HAYES, *Secretary.*

[*From National Republican, Washington, D. C., May 2, 1887.*]

Below we give the resolutions passed by the general assembly of the State of Pennsylvania in favor of the Blair educational bill. Space forbids any extended comment on these resolutions, but they speak for themselves. We can hardly conceive how any one can be so blind as to oppose this beneficent measure.

Intelligence is the surest foundation on which a free government can be built and the surest guarantee of its stability, and the principle of national aid to schools of a high class has been recognized for nearly the whole existence of the nation. Why should it be denied to the common schools?

[*Resolutions passed by the legislature in Pennsylvania, April, 1887.*]

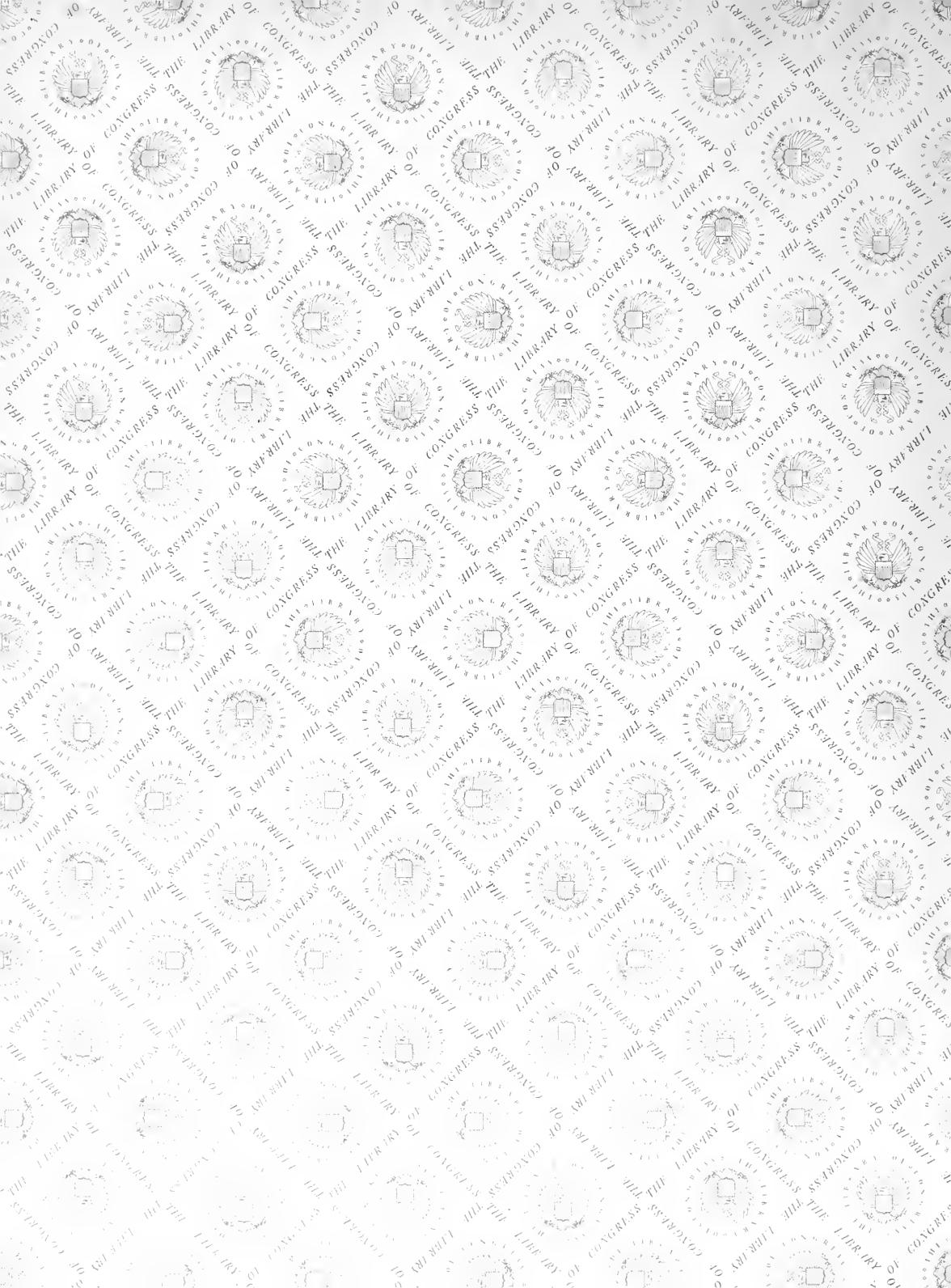
Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and the Representatives be requested to support at the next session the Blair bill for national aid to common schools, to the end that all sections may secure educational facilities.

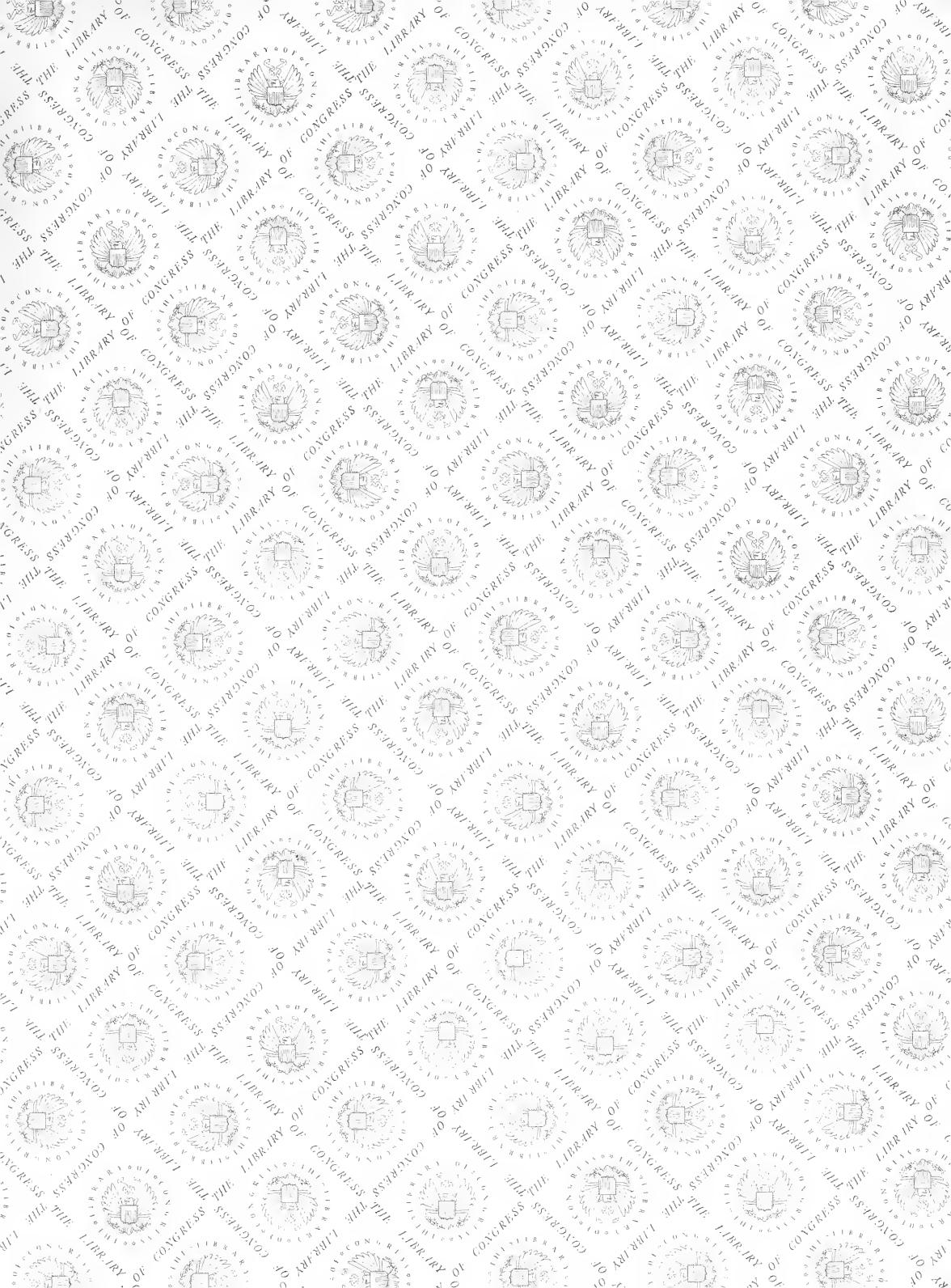
Resolved, That the secretary of the Commonwealth is hereby directed to send copies of the above resolutions to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington when Congress convenes in December next.

[*Republican National Platform, 1884.*]

SECTION 11. We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed.







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